











Anonymi  
Gesta Francorum  
et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum

edited by

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A. L. S.

## P R E F A C E

VON SYBEL, writing in 1881, expressed his pleasure in the acceptance by scholars of that scientific reconstruction of the history of the First Crusade which he had given to the world forty years earlier, and his hope that in the course of another forty years the results of his researches would have penetrated into text-books and school-books.<sup>1</sup>

That hope is now in process of fulfilment, but the great Chronicles of the Crusades are still only accessible in scholarly editions which are too costly, too cumbrous, and too elaborate for the ordinary reader.

This small edition of the 'primary authority'<sup>2</sup> for the history of the First Crusade, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, is specially designed for the use of students reading for the Preliminary Examination in Modern History in the University of Oxford, but it is hoped that it may help to guide the feet of other pilgrims on the 'Way of the Holy Sepulchre', the *iter Hierosolymitanum*, for the little book forms an excellent starting-point for the study of the Crusading movement, and deserves to be more widely known. Of the three existing editions of the *Gesta Francorum*, one is included in Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos*, published at Hanover in 1611;

<sup>1</sup> H. von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, first ed. 1841, second ed. 1881, Vorrede, ed. 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. E. Barker, *The Crusades* (The World's Manuals), p. 106.

another appeared in 1866 in the third volume of the magnificent but bulky *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, published by the Paris Académie des Inscriptions. The third and most recent, Heinrich Hagenmeyer's admirable and comparatively handy edition, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, Heidelberg, 1890, is bewildering from the very completeness of its critical *apparatus*, its wealth of prefaces, notes, and variant readings. The present edition simply aims at producing a text-book which may serve as an introduction to the more learned works on the subject. Bongars' text has been followed in spelling and in the usage, characteristic of the date of publication, of printing u and v as v initially and as u in other positions in small letters, and uniformly as V in capitals. Punctuation has been modernized, italics have been replaced by Roman type throughout, and small letters have in some cases been substituted for capitals.

My grateful thanks are due to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College and to the officers of the University Library, Cambridge, for facilitating my collation of MS. C., to Miss C. M. Ady for kind assistance in proof-reading, and to Mr. W. H. Stevenson for valuable suggestions and corrections.

The late Master of Balliol encouraged me to edit this book, which he first taught me to know. To his memory I inscribe it.

BEATRICE A. LEES.

OXFORD,  
June 1924.

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# INTRODUCTION

## MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

THE MSS. used by Hagenmeyer in his edition of the *Gesta Francorum* were classified by him in three groups. In the first group, *BG*, he placed *B*, a Madrid MS. of the early fourteenth century, and *G*, Bongars' printed edition, which rests on two unidentified MSS. These two sources he regarded as probably nearest to the original text, since they are distinguished by the crudity and awkwardness of their style and by their agreement with early plagiarists. He therefore based his own text on them wherever they agreed. When they differed, he gave the preference as a rule to the reading which most closely coincided with the text of the early plagiarists of the *Gesta*, especially Tudebod, who probably had access to the original manuscript. He gave the variant readings of all the other known MSS. except *F*, which is late and much abbreviated, and also the readings of *R*, the *Recueil* edition.<sup>1</sup> The *Recueil* edition prints the *Gesta Francorum* under the title of *Tudebodus abbreviatus*.<sup>2</sup> It is based mainly on a twelfth-century Vatican MS., *E*, and on Bongars, with variants also from *F*, the one MS. not used by Hagenmeyer. MS. *E* is placed by Hagenmeyer in his second group *DE*, both Vatican MSS. of the twelfth century. In both there is a serious hiatus in the text (see foot-note, c. xxiii, 23), which also occurs in *H*, a MS. of the third group.

This third group, *ACH*, includes a twelfth-century MS., *A*, a MS. *H*, which seems to have once been at Kenilworth,

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, *Einleitung*, §§ 7, 8, pp. 92–8.

<sup>2</sup> *Rec. des Hist. des Croisades, Hist. occidentaux*, iii.

and the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century MS. *C*, which is now in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The remaining MS. *F* is also a Cambridge MS. now at Corpus Christi College. It dates from the fourteenth century. The present edition is based on Bongars' text, with emendations from the MSS. and Tudebod, and with variant readings from representative MSS. of Hagenmeyer's three groups. *B* represents Group I, *E* Group II, and *C* Group III. The editions of Hagenmeyer and the *Recueil* have been carefully compared with Bongars for *B* and *E* variants, and Hagenmeyer's collation of *E* has occasionally been altered in accordance with the *Recueil*. *C* has been re-collated from the original MS. Limitations of space have made it necessary to omit from the foot-notes such minor differences between the MSS. as variations in spelling, transpositions of words, and unimportant changes in grammatical construction. Where the path is so well worn it is impossible to avoid treading in the footsteps of those who have gone before, and it would be absurd to sacrifice accuracy on the shrine of originality; yet in a few cases the readings of the most recent and thorough editor, Hagenmeyer, have been rejected, though the reasons for such rejection have been fully given in the notes.

One possible source of error, perhaps of enlightenment, Hagenmeyer hardly notices. Bongars' printed folio edition of 1611 bears evidence of respect for the letter of his MS. sources, but it also suggests that he had some difficulty in reading them, or that their text was corrupt. Thus, while on p. 17 a lacuna is carefully marked by asterisks, on p. 58. occurs the obviously erroneous form *Hugo Cli Forcenez*. These points are noted as they appear in the text, as they have a definite critical value. In MSS. *BE* of the *Gesta Francorum* and in the printed editions of Bongars and the *Recueil*, the material is divided into four books of very

unequal length. If, as Hagenmeyer thinks is not improbable, the author himself is responsible for this arrangement, he probably failed to carry it beyond the ninth chapter. As, however, it was repeated by Bongars, it has been retained in this edition.

The four books are further subdivided into eight sections, each of which ends with a doxology and *Amen*, in the following sequence :

Section 1 : cc. i-iv.	Section 5 : cc. xiv-xvii.
„ 2 : cc. v-viii.	„ 6 : c. xviii.
„ 3 : cc. ix-xi.	„ 7 : cc. xix-xxix.
„ 4 : cc. xii, xiii.	„ 8 : cc. xxx-xxxix.

Each section marks a stage in the military history of the Crusade and closes with a military event, beginning with the battle on the Vardar and ending with the battle of Ascalon. Paulin Paris<sup>1</sup> suggested that these sections were of the nature of letters or 'war bulletins', which would be sent to Europe, copied, and read for edification in the churches of the West, and afterwards worked up, with additional notes, into a book. Hagenmeyer<sup>2</sup> is more convincing when he treats the *Gesta* as a diary or journal, written in sections during intervals of leisure in the course of the war, while the events recorded were still fresh in the writer's memory.

### THE BOOK AND ITS AUTHOR

In the year 1608 Jacques Bongars, the French scholar-diplomatist, made a 'Platonical Voyage' to England, 'whereof the chief occasion', as we learn from a contemporary letter to the English antiquary, William Camden,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris, vols. i, ii, Paris, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Hagenmeyer, G. F., *Einleit.*, § 2, pp. 10-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Gulielmi Camdeni Epistolae*, Lond. 1691, p. 98, lxxii, D. Guil. Becherus G. Camdeno.

was 'to see the Universities, and search our Libraries'. In 1611 he published two folio volumes of records of the Crusades, under the title of *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitanici historia*. In 1612 he died, leaving his work unfinished. To Bongars' search in English libraries and to his friendship with Camden we probably owe one of the two MSS. on which he based the earliest printed edition of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, with which the *Gesta Dei per Francos* opens, for one of those MSS. was given to him by Camden, the other by the French savant, Paul Petau. Bongars regarded the *Gesta Francorum* as an original source, the work of an Italian follower of Bohemund, and until 1641 this was the received opinion. In that year, in the fourth volume of Duchesne's *Historiae Francorum Scriptores coetanei*, appeared Besly's edition of the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Petrus Tudebodus, Pierre Tudeboeuf, Tudebode, or Tudebod, a French priest of Civray in Poitou. In his learned preface Besly maintained that Tudebod was the original authority, from whom the anonymous author of the *Gesta* had borrowed most of his material without acknowledgement. Besly's view was almost universally accepted, and held the field for about two centuries. Von Ranke was the first to throw doubt on it, while in 1841 von Sybel, in his epoch-making *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, followed by the investigations of his pupil Gurewitsch,<sup>1</sup> reversed the decision of Besly, relegated Tudebod to the rank of a plagiarist, and restored the Anonymous to his pride of place as an original authority of the first importance. About the same time (1842) a Frenchman, de Saulcy,<sup>2</sup> arrived independently at much the same results. Though the editors of the *Recueil des*

<sup>1</sup> *Forsch. zur deutsch. Gesch.* xiv. 155 seq. (1874)

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, iv. 301 seq.

*Historiens des Croisades* (1866) still clung to the old opinion and called the work *Tudebodus abbreviatus*,<sup>1</sup> they were in the minority. Von Sybel's conclusions won general acceptance, and were fully borne out by Hagenmeyer's critical edition of the text, which was published in 1890.

Besly's argument for the priority of Tudebod rested mainly on certain passages in which Tudebod speaks of himself as an eyewitness, and as a writer, gives his name, and mentions his brother,<sup>2</sup> who died on the Crusade. These passages are not found in the *Gesta*, and Besly accused the anonymous author of deliberately suppressing them. Von Sybel's counter-argument, which is well summarized by Hagenmeyer, showed that the passages in question were interpolations, and urged the priority of the Anonymous on four main grounds: (i) he uses the first person throughout: Tudebod uses both the first and the third person; (ii) the Anonymous was a soldier, and writes consistently in this character: Tudebod was a priest, and writes sometimes as an ecclesiastic, sometimes, following the Anonymous, as a layman; (iii) Tudebod's additions to the *Gesta* are anecdotic and personal, and could be easily interpolated, while his omissions of passages which occur in the *Gesta* are awkward and clumsy and interfere with the text; (iv) Tudebod has used not only the *Gesta*, but the work of Raymond of Agiles, whereas the Anonymous has not incorporated a single passage from Raymond, though Hagenmeyer believes that both Raymond and his contemporary Fulcher of Chartres have borrowed from the *Gesta*.

The *Gesta Francorum*, then, the short, simply written record of an unknown soldier-pilgrim, is now recognized as one of the main sources from which the medieval historians

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. occ.* iii. 121 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Or brothers. Cf. Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* c. xxiii, note 9; c. xxx, note 32. Cf. notes, c. xxiii, 9; xxx. 62.

of the First Crusade drew their inspiration, a source whence the stream of Crusading literature began to flow even before the First Crusade was at an end.

Among the direct plagiarists who copied the *Gesta* almost word for word, without acknowledgment of their debt, are Tudebod and, in a less degree, the anonymous twelfth-century *Historia belli sacri*.<sup>1</sup> In the reaction in favour of the *Gesta*, the real value of these authorities is in danger of being forgotten. Tudebod was, fairly certainly, himself an eyewitness of the First Crusade, and his additions to the text of the *Gesta* reflect his own experience. If he plagiarizes, he is the earliest of the plagiarists, and he may represent the original text better than some of the later copyists, who thought to improve the rude style of the Anonymous. The *Historia belli sacri*, too, which Mabillon<sup>2</sup> actually regarded as the source of Tudebod and of the *Gesta*, may often serve to establish a reading, or to clear up a textual difficulty. More subtle in their method of imitation are the writers of the first three decades of the twelfth century who mention the *Gesta* as their authority, but take credit to themselves for embellishing and elaborating the crude raw material with which they deal. Baudri, Archbishop of Dol, Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sur-Seine, and Robert, the Monk of Rheims,<sup>3</sup> all speak of the little anonymous book, with its rustic style, *libellum . . . nimis rusticanum*,<sup>4</sup> on which their own more polished work is based.

The influence of the *Gesta Francorum* can also be traced, though in a more indirect form, in the writings of such imitators and occasional borrowers as Raymond of Agiles,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bibliography, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Museum Italicum*, tom. i, pars ii, Paris, 1687.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bibliography, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Baldr. Dol. Ep. *Hist. Hierosol. Rec. Hist. occ.* iv. 10 'Nescio quis compilator, nomine suppresso, libellum super hac re nimis rusticum ediderat'.

Fulcher of Chartres, Ekkehard of Aura, who in 1101 read at Jerusalem a little book on the Crusade, which may have been a copy of the *Gesta*,<sup>1</sup> and the versifiers Fulco and Gilo of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Even the romantic and legendary sources, the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the romance of Godfrey de Bouillon, probably owe something to the camp gossip and the marvellous tales preserved in this unpretending contemporary record, and thus it has passed into the picturesque pages of Albert of Aix, and has set its mark on the great Crusading history of William of Tyre.

If the author of the *Gesta* must remain anonymous, he has at least unconsciously revealed himself in all but name in his book, and from that book Bongars, von Sybel, and Hagenmeyer have reconstructed his personality with scholarly care and insight. There can be no doubt that he was a layman and a soldier, presumably of gentle birth, since he served as a knight till poverty and misfortune reduced him to the ranks of the *pedites*.<sup>3</sup> He was, in all probability, a southern Italian of Norman stock, for whom the practical and immediate knowledge of the Crusade began in connexion with Bohemund's division of the Crusading host, to whom Bohemund, that most valiant warrior, wise and prudent, dignified and honourable, strong and unconquered, is the ideal leader, *honor et decus totius mundi, bellorum arbiter et certaminum iudex, athleta Christi*, and, for the anonymous chronicler himself,

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, *Einleit.*, p. 60 seq. Von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzz.*, p. 58, ed. 1881, regards this identification as 'not impossible'.

<sup>2</sup> Hagenmeyer adds Ralph of Caen and Hugh of Fleury, *op. cit.*, *Einleit.*, pp. 68, 69. Cf. *Bibliography*, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> c. ix, pp. 19–20, 'Deus . . . qui non permisit suos milites perire . . . nobis adiutorium misit'; c. xxix, p. 67, 'Nos . . . equitauimus contra illos'; c. xxxvi, p. 85, 'Nostri milites, *praecedentes nos*'. Cf. c. xxxvii, p. 87 'pauperes homines *pedites*', Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, *Einleit.*, p. 6.

*dominus*, the feudal lord,<sup>1</sup> of whose *famulatus*, or personal following, he seems to have formed part.<sup>2</sup> The cry of *Deus vult*, which the French Crusaders first heard at Clermont, echoes for the Italian-Norman as *Deus le volt*, from the siege of Amalfi ; the crosses that his comrades wear are cut from the splendid cloak of his hero Bohemund.<sup>3</sup> The names of the petty princes of southern Italy are familiar to him, though he only knows the more important leaders of the northern French army.<sup>4</sup> He uses Italian-Latin constructions and words, such as *piscina*, *tenda*, *merula*, and places the conquest of his modest home-land Apulia among the objects of ambition of the powerful Eastern prince Kerboga,<sup>5</sup> while he shows a more intimate acquaintance with both Byzantine and Saracen affairs than would be likely to be possessed by a Frenchman or even by a North Italian. To judge from his use of the first person and from the vividness of his descriptions of particular incidents, he took the cross at Amalfi in the summer of 1096, and crossed over to the Balkan Peninsula with the South Italian division later in the same year. He was present at the battle of the Vardar, encamped under Tancred's command outside Constantinople during the negotiations of the Crusading leaders with the Emperor Alexius, crossed the Bosphorus in the spring of 1097, went through the siege of Nicaea and the battle of Dorylaeum, and before the end of October 1097 had settled down to the siege of Antioch, in Bohemund's camp, to the east of the city.<sup>6</sup> He took part in the plunder-raid of Bohemund and Robert of Flanders in the last days of 1097 ; he helped to build the fort opposite the Bridge Gate in March 1098 and was in the fight of the 6th of March, when the Crusaders

<sup>1</sup> Cf. cc. iv, v, vi, vii, ix, xi, xii, xiv, xvii, xxvi, xxvii, xxix.

<sup>2</sup> c. iv, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> c. iv. pp. 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> cc. ii, iv.

<sup>5</sup> cc. ii, xv, xx, xxi, and notes. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*, *Einleit.*, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> c. xii. p. 27.

drove the Turks over the bridge and defeated them with great slaughter.<sup>1</sup> When in June 1098 the city was betrayed by Firouz, as one of the chosen band of Bohemund's men who made the first attack, he was among those who entered Antioch by a postern gate.<sup>2</sup> When the Christians in Antioch were in turn besieged by the Turks he fought against Kerboga's army in the battle of June the 10th, and worked at the wall which was to protect Bohemund's forces from the Turks who held the citadel. He was present in the church of St. Peter when the Holy Lance was found, and on June 28, 1098, in the final battle with Kerboga, he fought on horseback, pursued the flying Turks, and shared the rejoicings over the victory.<sup>3</sup> It was probably now that he wrote that graphic account of the siege which fills eighteen of the thirty-nine chapters into which his book is divided. In the late November of 1098 he accompanied Bohemund to Marra, but after the siege and capture of the town, instead of returning with his lord to Antioch, he seems to have joined the Provençal army and to have gone on to Jerusalem with the followers of Count Raymond of Toulouse. With them he experienced the siege of Arca and the journey by the coast-towns to the Holy City. Here he fought, both in the attack on June 13, 1099, and in the final successful assault on June 15, when Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders. The book ends with a lively description of the battle of Ascalon on August 12, 1099, and of the triumphant return to Jerusalem of the booty-laden Franks.<sup>4</sup>

The author of the *Gesta* was thus admirably fitted by position and experience to be a chronicler of the great expedition in which he played so active a part. As a knight, enjoying the privileges of the knightly status, he would

<sup>1</sup> c. xviii, p. 36 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> c. xx, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> cc. xxiii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, pp. 54, 63, 65, 69.

<sup>4</sup> cc. xxxi-ix, pp. 72-97.

learn something of the policy of the leaders in their divided counsels. As a foot-soldier, during the later months of the Crusade, he knew the sufferings and the courage of the *pauperes homines pedites*. As a layman he stands out conspicuously in the crowd of ecclesiastical chroniclers. Prejudices he may have, but they are of another kind from those of the emotional Provençal priest, Raymond of Agiles,<sup>1</sup> or the didactic royal chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres. No less well was he fitted for his task by his nature and character. A thorough soldier, he has all the military virtues—loyalty, steadfast resolution, personal bravery, scorn of cowardice, and admiration of skill and courage in others, even in his enemies the Turks, *bellorum ingeniosissimi*.<sup>2</sup> In recalling the stress of battle his unimpassioned style can kindle into eloquence.<sup>3</sup> He is keenly interested in military operations and in the art of war, and is a first-rate authority for the strategy and tactics of the First Crusade.<sup>4</sup> With the Norman adaptability and spirit of adventure he combines Norman shrewdness and common sense. He is practical, observant, fair-minded, sagacious. Yet he is full of the simple, somewhat credulous religious faith of his time and surroundings, that faith which had brought Norman Italy into peculiarly close relations with the Papal See. If he does not see visions himself, he gives credence to the visions of others ; he accepts the genuineness of the Holy Lance without hesitation ; he believes in the appearance of the soldier-saints and their spirit-armies at the battle of Antioch, because 'several of our men saw these things'.<sup>5</sup> His book is a diary, a chronicle of personal experience, but it is some-

<sup>1</sup> He took priest's Orders during the Crusade.

<sup>2</sup> c. ix, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. c. xvii, where the Constable Robert Fitz Girard is compared to a famished lion raging among the flocks and herds.

<sup>4</sup> Von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzz.*, pp. 27-9, ed. 1881. Cf. Oman, *Art of War*, vol. 1, Bk. v.      <sup>5</sup> cc. xxviii, xxix, pp. 63-9.

thing more ; it is a record of the great deeds wrought by God through the Crusaders ; it has a unity of purpose and a certain epic dignity, quite apart from the personality of its author. This the author feels. If he uses the first person, it is always the first person plural, not the 'editorial we', but the symbol of the body corporate. He sinks the individual in the cause ; he tastes the joy of a common interest and of organized common action. Above all, he is in touch with reality. 'He writes his Latin', says Hagenmeyer,<sup>1</sup> 'just as he was accustomed to think in his Italian-Norman idiom.' It is this honest provincialism, which the later polite editors condemned as rusticity, which makes his work precious. He describes in simple language what he sees, not what other people expect him to see, and therefore 'he being dead yet speaketh'.

## THE FIRST CRUSADE

### i. *Causes and Leaders of the Crusade.*

The eleventh century ended with a great adventure.<sup>2</sup> In November 1095 Pope Urban II at Clermont made the persuasive speech which was answered by the cry of *Deus vult* and the inauguration of the Holy War, the *Bellum Sanctum*.<sup>3</sup> In July 1099 the victorious Crusaders, 'weeping for excess of joy', bent in adoration before the goal of their armed pilgrimage, the 'Sepulchre of our Saviour Jesus Christ',<sup>4</sup> and the first Act in the drama of the Crusades came to its appropriate close.

The Holy War appealed to many of the strongest human

<sup>1</sup> *G. F.*, *Einleit.*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> T. Fuller, *The Holy Warre*, Bk. i, c. viii, ed. 4, 1651 : 'The Pope alone was the gainer by this great adventure.'

<sup>3</sup> He preached on the day before the Council closed, probably November 27. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. xxxviii.

impulses and passions, religious sentiment, the fighting instinct, romance and the lure of the unknown, the love of adventure and the hope of gain. So many-sided a phenomenon has been attributed to many causes, but probably the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* touched the heart of the matter when he wrote of the *motio valida*, the wave of unrest which was passing through Western society at the time appointed by God.<sup>1</sup> About the same date another anonymous chronicler in remote England, in writing of the Crusade, used much the same words : ' In this year there was a mighty stirring (*mycel styrung*) of the people and of the peoples of other lands also.'<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that the First Crusade was in the main a religious movement which owed the force of its impetus to the peculiar conditions of the age, and was in itself only one manifestation of the general quickening and awakening, economic, political, social, religious, and intellectual, of a century which had known the fret and strain, the 'mighty stirring' of revival and reform, alike in Church and in State. Behind the First Crusade lay many new interests and activities : the growth of towns and commerce, the expansion of the Norman race, the development of monasticism and of asceticism, of missions and of organized pilgrimage ; the investiture struggle, also, with the controversial literature to which it gave birth ; and, it must always be remembered, the constant menace of the Turkish advance in Asia. In 1071 the Turks occupied Jerusalem, and the fatal battle of Manzikert, following on the Seljuk conquest of Armenia, broke down the feeble defences of the Byzantine Empire. By 1078 Jerusalem was in the hands of the Seljuks, while in 1084 Antioch, one of the patriarchates of the Greek Church, was lost to Christianity. Constantinople was seriously threatened by the Seljuk Sultan of

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, sub ann. 1096.

Rūm or Iconium when the great conqueror Malik Shah died in 1092, and internal quarrels weakened the power of his successors.<sup>1</sup> But the danger was still acute. Fulcher of Chartres, who was present at the Council of Clermont, mentions the occupation of the Christian provinces of Rūm (*Romania*) by the Turks as one of the reasons for the Pope's crossing the Alps into France in 1095. Urban II seems, too, to have laid special stress in his Crusading speech on the importance of helping the Eastern Christians to check the tide of Turkish conquest, which had reached the Bosphorus.<sup>2</sup> Piety and Policy<sup>3</sup> went hand in hand in this high enterprise.

It is often said that the Crusades were but part of the ceaseless struggle between East and West, taking a religious form in an age of world-religions<sup>4</sup> and a military form in an age of militarism and of fighting faiths. There had been peaceful pilgrimages to the Holy Land and religious wars against infidel Moors in Spain and Arabs in Sicily before the First Crusade united the pilgrimage motive with Christian militancy. Later romance not only set Charlemagne and his paladins to fight the Mohammedans of Spain, but sent them on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem "without shields or lances or sharp swords."<sup>5</sup> The Crusaders trod the 'road of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient : Les Croisades*, p. 50 seq. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, vol. iv, c. x.

<sup>2</sup> F. of Chartres, c. i: 'ad illud scilicet quod Brachium Sancti Georgi vocant Turci et Arabes, apud Romaniae fines'.

<sup>3</sup> T. Fuller, *op. cit.*, Bk. i, c. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzz.*, ed. 1881, p. 145; E. Barker, *The Crusades*, p. 3 seq. vol. ii.; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. ii, Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient : Les Croisades*.

<sup>5</sup> G. Paris, *La Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (extr. de *la Romania*, ix), Paris, 1880. Gaston Paris thought that both this poem and the *Chanson de Roland*, in which appears the idea of the Holy War against Islam, were anterior to the First Crusade. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 13. This view is controverted by Bédier and by Boissonnade, who connect the *Chanson de Roland*

Charles the Great<sup>1</sup> more truly than they knew. They were not merely pilgrims, *peregrini*, but 'the pilgrim knights of Christ', *Christi milites peregrini*.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the Western chroniclers of the eleventh century, the actual eyewitnesses of the First Crusade, saw in it the fulfilment of prophecy, the work of God, acting through the Church and the Pope, the Head and Father of the Church. Later writers magnified the personal responsibility for the initiative of the Holy War. The *Chanson des chétifs* and the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the *Historia belli sacri*, Albert of Aix, and William of Tyre, with the modern historians who relied mainly on these authorities, made Peter the Hermit the forerunner of Urban II, and the author and instigator of the Crusade. In the narratives of the eyewitnesses of the movement he falls into his proper place as a successful and eloquent preacher and recruiting agent, and a leader of the ill-fated 'Peasants' Crusade' of 1096. After the establishment of the House of Boulogne on the throne of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon became a hero of romance, the *pio Goffredo* to whom, in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, the heavenly message is sent which starts the Crusade. Ralph of Caen exalts Tancred. The author of the *Gesta* emphasizes the great services of Bohemund. Yet in the early twelfth century the English William of Malmesbury could assert that Urban's secret intention was by Bohemund's advice to excite almost the whole of Europe to undertake an expedition into Asia, that Urban might engage auxiliaries and recover Rome from the Anti-Pope, and that Bohemund might gain Illyria and Macedonia, which he claimed as his with the French Crusades in Spain, and put its composition in the early twelfth century. Coulet has also shown that the *Chanson du pèlerinage* was probably written in the twelfth century, at a later date than the *Chanson de Roland*. Cf. Notes, c. ii. 6-8, p. 100. Bibliography, p. 147 (iv) Legend. <sup>1</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, cc. iv, vi, vii, xii, &c., c. xxx.

due, because Robert Guiscard had won these lands from Alexius Comnenus.<sup>1</sup> In the nineteenth century Sir Francis Palgrave,<sup>2</sup> who was unjust to the Crusaders, and belittled the movement altogether, called 'the anticipated partition of the Greek Empire' the 'final cause of the First Crusade', and compared Bohemund to 'Master Byends' in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. To the Provençal Chronicler Raymond of Agiles, the Count of Toulouse, at least after the death of the Papal legate, is the central figure of the expedition, who might, had he so chosen, have been king of Jerusalem. From a twelfth-century Syrian and Armenian source,<sup>3</sup> even, comes a sort of medieval 'Jenkins' Ear' story which tells how Raymond of Toulouse, when on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had an eye struck out in a quarrel with the Turks, and how he picked it up, brought it to Rome, showed it everywhere and roused the fanaticism which led to great armies setting out for Constantinople, which they besieged 'for seven years'. Modern criticism turns from these flights of fancy to the simplicity of the early records, and sees in the First Crusade the work of medieval faith and French idealism directed and regulated by the Church. Behind the 'great adventure' stands the French Pope; a French bishop, Adhémar of Le Puy, the Papal representative, is the accredited leader, *rector et pastor*,<sup>4</sup> of the armed pilgrimage; the Franks take the cross, the homes of France and Italy are left empty. In his opening chapters<sup>5</sup> the author of the *Gesta* has seized, with a sure instinct, on the essentials of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. of Malmesbury, *G. R.*, Lib. IV, c. 2. Cf. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*.

<sup>2</sup> *England and Normandy*, iv, c. x.

<sup>3</sup> Michael the Great (the Syrian). Cf. Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, iii. 1, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. xxx.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. i, ii.

Holy War: the motive, the divine command; the objective, the Sepulchre of Christ; the incentive, the Pope's inspired pleading, which gave form and voice to vague inarticulate desires; the result, the concerted action of Western Christendom, responsive to an emotional appeal.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *Course of the Crusade.*

The history of the First Crusade has been written from many different points of view, racial, religious, political, economic, military, romantic.<sup>2</sup> For this very reason the accounts of those who wrote from personal knowledge, before the tide of controversy had begun to flow, deserve careful study. It is convenient to adopt the usual modern division of the First Crusade into a prelude, the 'Crusade of the people', or the 'Peasants' Crusade', and the main action, the 'Crusade of the Princes', or the 'Barons' Crusade'.<sup>3</sup>

The second chapter of the *Gesta Francorum* is occupied with the popular Crusade. Three out of the five bands which constituted that Crusade, those of Gottschalk, Emicho, and Folkmor or Fulk, had already perished or dispersed before the Anonymous began to write, but he shows special knowledge of the fortunes of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, after they joined forces at Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> He describes, not without prejudice, the disorderly behaviour of Peter's followers, the change in the attitude of the Emperor Alexius towards them, and their tragic adventures in Asia Minor. He speaks of the pride of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. von Sybel, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, c. iv, § 1; Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-14. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Bibliography, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Barker, *op. cit.*; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, c. iv, § 4, p. 70. Bréhier calls 'la croisade des barons' 'la véritable croisade'.

<sup>4</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, ii, notes 67, 73. Cf. *P. der Eremit*. Cf. Chalandon, *Alexius Comnène*. Anna Comnena makes Elchanes, the Turkish commander, knowing the avarice of the Celts, entice the followers of 'Kukupeter' out of the camp and into an ambush, by spreading the report that the Normans had taken Nicaea and were about to divide the spoil.

the Franks, which led the Germans and Italians to separate from them, of the eight days' waterless siege of *Exerogorgo*, the reputed treachery of the German leader Rainald, his sally and defeat, the destruction of the followers of Walter the Penniless, the attack on the camp at Civitot, the great joy of the Emperor at these disasters and the final rescue by the Greeks. In reality Alexius, whatever his private feelings may have been, had sent regular supplies to the Crusaders, and it was fear of the Greeks which eventually induced the Turks to fall back on Nicaea ; the Anonymous is unfair to the Emperor throughout. The story of Rainald's treachery, too, is only told by the Anonymous and his copyists, and Hagenmeyer doubts its truth. But true or false, it seems probable that it came from an Italian source. The vivid details of the suffering of the thirst-tortured Crusaders at *Exerogorgo*, couched to some extent in Italian-Latin language, the special mention of the *Lombardi et Longobardi* who chose Rainald as their leader, the earlier mention of *Lombardos et Longobardos* whom Peter the Hermit found at Constantinople on his arrival, all suggest that this chapter of the book was written from information derived from the personal experience of the author's compatriots. This, also, would account for the bitter feeling against Alexius, who was from the first suspicious of Bohemund and his Italian Normans. No sooner had the Crusaders set foot on Byzantine soil than the question of their relations with the Greeks became critical. After the 'Peasants' came the 'Princes'. As the three great armies of Northern and Southern France and Southern Italy approached Constantinople, the Emperor Alexius can hardly be blamed for trying to deal diplomatically with a very difficult situation and to negotiate separately with each Crusading leader. In particular he dreaded the ambition of Bohemund and the Normans of Southern Italy, of whose quality he had already had

a taste in the invasion of the Balkan Peninsula and the battle of Durazzo or *Dyrrachium* (1081). Though he succeeded in the end, after blood had flowed on both sides, in winning recognition as the feudal suzerain of all the Crusading leaders except Raymond of Toulouse and Tancred, he only seems to have won over Bohemund by substantial concessions and specious promises. The author of the *Gesta* makes the Emperor promise a grant of territory in the neighbourhood of Antioch, the seat of Bohemund's later principality.<sup>1</sup> Anna Comnena says that Bohemund asked for the high office of Grand Domestic, which would have carried with it the military command of the Crusading armies.<sup>2</sup>

The Anonymous now writes as an eyewitness, and his account of the march from Durazzo to Constantinople and the negotiations with Alexius has real original value. He ends his first section with the burning of the 'fortress of heretics . . . with its inhabitants' and the subsequent victory over the Greeks at the river Vardar on February 18, 1097. His second section carries on the tale through the tangled maze of negotiations to the gathering of the Crusading forces in Asia Minor, the siege of Nicaea and the capitulation of the Turkish garrison to the Greeks on May 19, 1097. The Emperor smoothed over the friction caused by his retention of the city by means of lavish gifts to the Franks. An embassy was dispatched to Egypt to negotiate for an alliance with the Fatimites, who were hostile to the Seljuk Turks, and by June 29, 1097, the

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, vi. 3, note 20; von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzz.*, 1881, p. 270 seq. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*; Barker, *op. cit.*; Bréhier, *op. cit.* Von Sybel and Hagenmeyer reject the evidence of the *Gesta* for this promise of territory. Bohemund never referred to it subsequently in confirmation of his claims.

<sup>2</sup> Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 183; von Sybel, *op. cit.*, p. 273; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, vol. iv, c. xi, p. 335.

Crusading army had started on its march in a south-easterly direction across Asia Minor, accompanied by the Byzantine representative Tatikios and his troops. The Crusaders marched in two divisions, some miles apart. Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse, and Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, Hugh the Great, and Robert of Flanders were on the right, Bohemund and Tancred, with Robert of Normundy, on the left. No care seems to have been taken to keep the two bodies in touch with one another, an error which nearly proved fatal. On the third day of the march, July 1, the army of Kilij Arslān, the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, attacked Bohemund's division in force. The author of the *Gesta* fought with the mounted knights, and his description of the battle, though vivid, is imperfect, but by supplementing it from Raymond of Agiles, Fulcher of Chartres, and Ralph of Caen, a good idea of the general action can be formed.<sup>1</sup> The light Turkish horse harassed the heavy-armed Frankish cavalry with showers of darts and arrows, as they galloped along their lines with wild battle-cries, *iaculando ac spiculando et . . . sagittando*.<sup>2</sup> They had begun to pillage the tents in the rear of the Norman army and were murdering priests and women, when the other division of Crusaders, to whom Bohemund had sent an urgent message,<sup>3</sup> at last came riding to the rescue, and the day was saved. 'God Almighty sent us help,' writes the Anonymous: 'unless the Lord had been with us in the battle none of us would have escaped.'

The way was now open to Antioch. The Crusaders marched by the old Roman road to Iconium and Heraclea,

<sup>1</sup> Oman, *Art of War*, vol. i., Bk. v, c. iii; von Sybel, *op. cit.* p. 291 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, c. ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 6, notes 28, 29, 30. Bongars' edition of the *Gesta* contains the passage in which the Anonymous describes the reluctance of the princes to believe the messenger's report. *Verumtamen hoc fallacium est totum.*

where Baldwin of Boulogne and Tancred left the main army, crossed the Taurus range into Cilicia, and occupied Tarsus. After a sharp quarrel with Tancred over the possession of the city, followed by a reconciliation and further conquests, Baldwin rejoined the main body, only to leave it again in October 1097 for Armenia, and eventually to become the adopted heir of the Armenian prince Thoros and the founder of the Frankish County of Edessa.<sup>1</sup> For the march from Heraclea through Lesser Armenia the *Gesta Francorum* is an admirable guide.<sup>2</sup> By October 21, 1098, the first stage of the Crusade ended with the appearance of Bohemund's army before the 'royal city' of Antioch.

The siege of Antioch is the central event of the First Crusade and its importance is fully recognized by the Anonymous, who devotes four out of the eight sections of his book to its history. A battle marks the close of each of these sections: El-Bara, on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1097, when the Turks were defeated by Bohemund and Robert of Flanders; the battle of the Lake of Antioch, on Shrove Tuesday, February 9, 1098, between the Franks and Ridwan of Aleppo and his allies; the battle of March 6, 1098, ending in the victory of Bohemund and Raymond of Toulouse over the Turks of Antioch after the expedition to St. Simeon's Port, and finally the great victory over Kerboga on June 28, 1098.

The city of Antioch, almost impregnable with its splendid fortifications, its walls, its '450 towers'<sup>3</sup> and its citadel, was held by Yagi Sian (*Cassianus*), the Turkish Emir and commander. Bohemund won the Iron Bridge to the east of the city and encamped outside the East Gate, or Gate of St. Paul.<sup>4</sup> The other Crusading leaders took up positions on

<sup>1</sup> Fulcher of Chartres. Cf. Hagenmeyer, *Chron. de la Prem. Crois.*, pp. 101, 102, 103, 122, 123, 129, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Notes, p. 110 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. xxxii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Notes, p. 113 seq. Cf. plan of Antioch, Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Plates vii, viii.

the north and east, but the north-western Bridge Gate and the west and south of the city were at first left open.<sup>1</sup> Though Genoese ships brought supplies to the Port of St. Simeon in November, the Crusaders' commissariat, transport, and lines of communication were ill organized, and by December the besiegers were suffering from famine. The last days of 1097 saw the raid of Bohemund and Robert of Flanders in quest of food, which ended on New Year's Eve with the battle of El-Bara, and the 'victorious and empty'<sup>2</sup> return of the raiding party to camp. With the New Year scarcity and distress increased, and William the Carpenter and Peter the Hermit covered themselves with shame by an attempt at flight. At this time, too, the Byzantine representative, Tatikios, left the camp. The Anonymous, who is hostile to *inimicus Tetigus*, says that he professed to be going in search of supplies, but that he 'falsely feigned'. Raymond of Agiles makes him cede Tarsus and other Cilician towns to Bohemund and then withdraw on the pretext of seeking help. Anna Comnena, on the other hand, attributes his departure to the intrigues of Bohemund, who was scheming to get Antioch for himself, and warned Tatikios of a plot to murder him as an agent of the treacherous Alexius. Von Sybel and Chalandon are inclined to accept this view of the matter, but Hagenmeyer believes that the famine in camp was a sufficient reason for the retirement of Tatikios, and that his subsequent failure to send the promised relief embittered the Crusaders against him. In weighing the evidence of the *Gesta* against Raymond of Agiles and Anna Comnena, though allowance must be made for the author's loyalty to Bohemund, it must always be remembered that Raymond is the ardent partisan

<sup>1</sup> Later 'Tancred's Castle' blockaded the Western Gate of St. George, *Gesta Franc.*, c. xix.

<sup>2</sup> R. of Agiles, c. viii.

of the Count of Toulouse, while Anna is a special pleader for her father Alexius, and both are more subtle politicians than the straightforward anonymous soldier-chronicler.<sup>1</sup>

The first stress of the siege was ended by the victories of February 9 and March 6, 1098, the establishment of communication with the ships at St. Simeon's Port, and the building of the fort *Machumaria* to block the Turkish exit by the Bridge Gate. By the end of May Bohemund had won a promise from the Council of Crusading leaders that the city should be his if he could gain possession of it. In the early morning of June 3, it was betrayed into his hands by Firuz the Turkish Emir, but though Yagi Sian was slain, the Turks still held out in the citadel, and by June 8 the relieving army of Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, had come up and the Crusaders found themselves transformed from besiegers into besieged. Three trying weeks followed, a time of sickness, famine, and nervous strain, when many lost heart and escaped from the beleaguered city.<sup>2</sup> It is now that in all the contemporary sources the mystic element and the elements of myth, saga, and legend become prominent, until the psychic phenomena culminate in the finding of the Holy Lance on June 14. The author of the *Gesta* retails stories of Kerboga and his mother which are probably echoes of camp gossip and prisoners' tales. Raymond of Agiles fills his pages with the visions of Peter Bartholomew and the other seers to whom the secret of the hidden Lance was revealed. Strong in the faith of Christ's direct intervention in the hour of their greatest peril, the Crusaders met and defeated Kerboga on June 28, 1098. In this great fight the Anonymous played his part, while his fellow chronicler, Raymond of Agiles, bore the Holy Lance in the

<sup>1</sup> Von Sybel, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 199 seq.; Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, c. xvi and notes.

<sup>2</sup> On the *funambuli* cf. c. xxiii and notes.

battle, and many of the soldiers believed that they saw the heavenly hosts mounted on white horses with white standards displayed, issuing from the mountains to their aid, led by St. George, St. Mercury, and St. Demetrius. By nightfall Bohemund's standard was floating over the surrendered citadel, and Kerboga's army was in full flight.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the Crusade was not to come for more than a year, but to the long and eventful period which followed the final capture of Antioch the author of the *Gesta* only gives ten chapters. He seems to have become somewhat disillusioned and to have lost much of his 'first fine careless rapture'. His loyalty to Bohemund was weakened by his hero's constant quarrels with Raymond of Toulouse, and eventually he appears to have joined the Provençal army, and to have reached Jerusalem as a humble foot-soldier.

The last stage of the Crusade, from the battle of Antioch to the battle of Ascalon, included four months' rest at Antioch (July to November, 1098), the siege of Marra and another month of rest (Nov. 27, 1098, to Jan. 13, 1099), the march to Arca and the siege of the town (Jan. 13 to May 13, 1099), the march to Jerusalem (May 13 to June 7), the siege of Jerusalem (June 7 to July 16), the election of Godfrey as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, the elevation of Arnulf to the Patriarchal chair of Jerusalem, and the campaign and battle of Ascalon (August 9 to August 12, 1099).

After the death, on August 1, 1098, of the Bishop of Le Puy, political rivalry and disputes over the possession of the conquered territory bade fair to wreck the whole expedition before it had achieved its purpose. In the end,

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Franc.*, c. xxix. Both R. of Agiles and F. of Chartres say that Kerboga was playing chess when the Crusading army marched out of the city, an incident which recalls Drake's game of bowls when the Armada was in sight.

the rank and file of the Crusaders, the *pauperes*, took the matter into their own hands,<sup>1</sup> and told Raymond of Toulouse that if none of the princes would lead them, they would go to Jerusalem by themselves, bearing the Lance, with the Lord as their leader. At Marra they even began to pull down the walls to prevent further quarrels over the town. Raymond of Toulouse, taking this popular movement as a divine warning, now identified himself with the cause of the *pauperes*, ordered the destruction of Marra, and marched barefoot out of the town, on the way to Jerusalem. But another long delay occurred at Arca, where the princes again united forces, and the old jealousies and ambitions revived. Raymond of Toulouse, who was probably already planning to secure a principality in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, revenged himself on Bohemund by favouring the claims of Alexius Comnenus to Antioch. The Normans, in return, questioned the genuineness of the Holy Lance, and Peter Bartholomew, to whom the first vision had been vouchsafed, died before Arca, after undergoing the ordeal of fire to prove the truth of the revelation. Not until May 1099 was the forward march resumed, and even then Raymond of Toulouse only yielded with great reluctance to the urgency of Godfrey of Bouillon, who now came forward as the leader of the popular party.<sup>2</sup> The siege of Arca was raised, terms were made with the Emir of Tripoli, Bohemund went back to Antioch, and on June 7, 1099, the Crusaders at last reached and invested Jerusalem, which had been wrested from the Seljuk Turks by the Egyptian Fatimites in August 1098. On July 15, 1099, after a fierce general assault, the Holy City was taken, and the Christian triumph was celebrated by

<sup>1</sup> R. of Agiles, c. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Von Sybel, *op. cit.*, c. x; Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, c. xxxvi and notes; Bréhier, *op. cit.*; Barker, *op. cit.*

a ruthless massacre of unbelievers. The author of the *Gesta* was present when the city was won. He mentions the elections of Godfrey and of the Patriarch, and he concludes with the battle of Ascalon, in August 1099, when an attempt on the part of the Egyptians to regain lost ground in Syria was foiled by the Franks. He probably<sup>1</sup> finished his book towards the end of 1099, before the deposition of Arnulf from the Patriarchate. He ends, as he began, on a religious note, but the key has changed. The hope, the single-minded faith, and the spiritual exaltation of his opening chapters have grown dim in the harsh experience of the realities of war. The practical worldly element, always present in the book,<sup>2</sup> is emphasized in the ease that followed the final effort. His 'great joy' and thanksgiving after the victory of Ascalon are for the material rewards of righteousness, wheat and cheese, bread and oil, and 'all good things'. Yet, quite at the last, as he writes the accustomed doxology, his vision clears, he turns from the earthly to the heavenly Jerusalem, and adds to his usual formula the words *Dicat omnis spiritus Amen.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *G. F.*, *Einleit.*, pp. 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. c. ix. The Crusaders encouraged each other at Dorylaeum by saying: 'Estote . . . unanimes in fide Christi et sanctae crucis vexilli Victoria, quia hodie omnes divites, si Deo placet, effecti eritis.'

<sup>3</sup> The Camden MS. which Bongars used ended, as he notes in his preface, with the words; *Explicit via bona.*

*MSS. and Editions to which reference is made  
in the foot-notes.*

- B.* Cod. MS. Madritanus, Bibl. nat.
- C.* Cod. MS. Cantabrigiensis, Gonvilli et Cai Coll.
- E.* Cod. MS. Vaticanus Reginae Christinae.
- G.* Ed. Bongars.
- M.* Add. Raimundi *Hist. Francorum.*
- R.* Ed. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. occ. iii.*
- Ha.* Ed. Hagenmeyer.
- Tud.* Tudebodi sacerdotis Sivracensis *Historia de Hierosolym.*

# GESTA FRANCORVM ET ALIORVM HIEROSOLYMITANORVM

I. Cum iam appropinquasset ille terminus quem 1095  
Dominus Iesus quotidie suis demonstrat fidelibus,  
specialiter in Euangelio, dicens: 'Si quis vult post  
me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et  
sequatur me', facta est motio valida per vniuersas 5  
Galliarum regiones: vt si aliquis Dominum studiose  
puroque corde et mente sequi desideraret atque post  
ipsum crucem fideliter baiulare vellet, non pigritaretur  
Sancti Sepulchri viam celerius arripere. Apostolicus  
namque Romanae sedis Vrbanus vltra montanas partes 10  
quantocius profectus est cum suis archiepiscopis,  
episcopis, abbatibus et presbyteris, coepitque subtiliter  
sermocinari et praedicare, dicens: 'Vt si quis animam  
suam saluam facere vellet, non dubitaret humiliter viam  
incipere Domini; ac si denariorum ei deesset copia, 15  
diuina ei satis daret misericordia.' Ait namque dominus  
Apostolicus: 'Fratres, nos oportet multa pati pro  
nomine Christi, videlicet miserias, paupertates, nuditates,  
persecutiones, egestates, infirmitates, fames, sites et  
alia huiusmodi, sicuti Dominus ait suis discipulis: 20  
"Oportet vos pati multa pro nomine meo", et, "Nolite  
erubescere loqui ante facies hominum"; "ego vero dabo  
vobis os et eloquium", ac deinceps "persequetur vos  
larga retributio." Cumque iam hic sermo paulatim per

*Titulus.* Incipit Itinerarium Ierusalomitanorum *C* Liber I *ER*  
I. 2 Jesus Christus *BER* 5 commotio *ER*: igitur motio *Ha*  
10 Urbanus Secundus *CER*: *om.* Urbanus *B* 16 *om.*  
dominus *ER* 17 vos oportet *C* 22 *om.* vero *E*  
23-24 magna retributio *C*

25 vniuersas regiones ac Galliarum patrias coepisset crebrescere, Franci audientes talia, protinus in dextra fecere cruces suere scapula, dicentes sese Christi vnanimitate sequi vestigia, quibus de manu erant redempti tartarea.

1096 II. Iam iamque Galli e suis remoti sunt domibus. Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Vna pars Francorum in Hungariae intrauit regionem, scilicet Petrus heremita, et dux Godefridus, et Balduinus frater eius, et 5 Balduinus comes de Monte. Isti potentissimi milites et alii plures, quos ignoro, venerunt per viam quam iam dudum Carolus Magnus, mirificus rex Franciae, aptari fecit vsque Constantinopolim. Petrus vero supradictus primus venit Constantinopolim Kalendis Augusti, et cum 10 eo maxima gens Alamannorum. Illic inuenit Lombardos et Longobardos et alios plures congregatos, quibus imperator iusserat dari mercatum, sicuti erat in ciuitate, dixitque illis: 'Nolite transmeare Brachium, donec veniat maxima Christianorum virtus, quoniam vos tanti 15 non estis, vt cum Turcis praeliare valeatis.' Ipsique Christiani nequierer deducebant se, quia palatia vrbis sternebant et ardebant, et auferebant plumbeum quo ecclesiae erant coopertae, et vendebant Graecis, vnde imperator iratus est, iussitque eos transmeare Brachium. 20 Postquam transfretauerunt, non cessabant agere omnia mala, comburentes et deuastantes domos et ecclesias. Tandem peruererunt Nicomediam, vbi diuisi sunt Lombardi et Longobardi et Alamanni a Francis, quia Franci tumebant superbia. Elegerunt Lombardi et 25 Longobardi seniorem super se, cui nomen Rainaldus;

II. 1 Galliae (Gallie C) suis remotae (remote C) sunt domibus (sedibus C) BCE Ha 2 feceruntque Ha tres partes Galli ER

9 III. kalendas Augusti BER in kl. augusti C 18 erant

ecclesiae ER 19 iratus jussit eos ER 20 Postquam

autem ER 23 om. Lombardi et E 24 om. Lombardi et E

Alamanni similiter ; et intrauerunt in Romaniam, et per quatuor dies ierunt ultra Nicenam vrbem, inueneruntque quoddam castrum, cui nomen Exerogorgo, quod erat vacuum gente. Et apprehenderunt illud, in quo inuenerunt satis frumenti et vini et carnis, et omnium <sup>30</sup> bonorum abundantiam. Audientes itaque Turci quod Christiani essent in castro, venerunt obsidere illud. Ante portam castri erat puteus, et ad pedem castri fons viuus, iuxta quem exiit Reinaldus insidiari Turcos. Venientes vero Turci in die dedicationis S. Mikahelis, <sup>35</sup> qui est III. Kal. Octobris, inuenerunt Reinaldum et qui cum eo erant ; occideruntque Turci multos ex eis, alii qui remanserunt viui fugerunt in castrum, quod confessim Turci obsederunt, eisque aquam abstulerunt. Fueruntque nostri in tanta afflictione sitis, vt flebotomarent <sup>40</sup> suos equos et asinos, quorum sanguinem bibebant ; alii mittebant zonas atque panniculos in piscinam, et inde exprimebant aquam in os suum ; alii mingebant in pugillo alterius et bibebant ; alli fodiebant humidam terram, et supinabant se, terramque sternebant super <sup>45</sup> pectora sua pro nimia ariditate sitis. Episcopi vero et presbyteri confortabant nostros, et commonebant ne deficerent, dicentes : ‘Estote vbiique fortes in fide Christi et nolite eos timere qui vos persequuntur, sicut Dominus dicit : “Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt ; animam vero non possunt occidere.”’ Haec tribulatio fuit per octo dies. Denique dominus Alamanorum Reinaldus concordatus est cum Turcis, vt traderet socios illis ; et fingens se exire ad bellum, fugit ad illos,

<sup>27-28</sup> et invenerunt *ER* <sup>29-30</sup> et invenerunt in eo *ER*  
<sup>35</sup> in festo *BCER* <sup>36</sup> qui est in Kal. Octob. *G* (Bongars) :  
*om. qui ... Octob. CHaTud* <sup>37</sup> alii vero *ER* <sup>37-38</sup> *om.*  
*qui ... vivi BCER* <sup>41</sup> et sanguinem *ER* biberent *CER*  
<sup>48-51</sup> *om. dicentes ... occidere BCE* <sup>53</sup> *om. Reinaldus*  
*HaTud*

55 et multi cum eo. Illi autem qui Dominum negare noluerunt, capitalem sententiam suscepérunt; alios, quos coeperunt viuos, adinuicem diuiserunt quasi oves; alios miserunt ad signum et sagittabant eos; alios vendebant et donabant quasi animalia. Quidam con-  
 60 ducebant suos in domum suam, alios in Corasanum, alios in Antiochiam, alios in Aleph, aut vbi ipsi manebant. Isti primo felix acceperunt martyrium pro nomine Domini Iesu. Audientes denique Turci, quod Petrus heremita et Guualterius sine habere fuissent in Cyuito,  
 65 quae supra Nicenam vrbum est, venerunt illuc cum magno gaudio, vt occiderent illos et eos qui cum ipsis erant. Cumque venissent laetantes, obuiauerunt Guualterio cum suis, quos Turci mox occiderunt. Petrus vero heremita paulo ante ierat Constantinopolim,  
 70 eo quod nequibat refrenare illam diuersam gentem, quae nec illum, nec verba eius audire volebat. Irruentes vero Turci super eos occiderunt multos ex eis; alios inuenerunt dormientes, alios iacentes, alios nudos, quos omnes necauerunt; cum quibus quendam sacerdotem  
 75 inuenerunt missam celebrantem, quem statim super altare martyrizauerunt. Illi vero qui euadere potuerunt, Cyuito fugerunt; alii praecipitabant se in mare, alii latebant in syluis et montaneis. Turci vero persequentes illos in castrum, adunauerunt ligna, vt eos comburerent  
 80 cum castro. Christiani igitur qui in castro erant miserunt ignem in ligna congregata, et versus ignis in Turcos quosdam eorum cremauit, sed ab illo incendio Deus nostros liberauit. Tandem Turci apprehenderunt illos viuos, diuiseruntque illos, sicut prius fecerant alios, et  
 85 disperserunt illos per vniuersas regiones has, alios in

67 *om. laetantes BCE*      69 *ante venit ER*      73 *om. alios iacentes BCE*      82 *concremavit HaR*      83 *tunc liberavit HaR*: Tandem igitur *ER*

Corosanum, alios in Persidem. Hoc totum est factum in mense Octobri. Audiens imperator quod Turci sic dissipassent nostros, gausus est valde, et mandauit pro eis, fecitque eos Brachium transmeare. Postquam vltra fuerunt, comparauit omnia arma eorum. 90

III. Secunda pars vero intrauit in Sclauiniae partes, 1096 scilicet comes de S. Aegidio Raimundus, et Podiensis episcopus. Tertia autem pars per antiquam Romae viam venit. In hac parte fuerunt Boamundus et Richardus de Principatu, Rotbertus comes Flandrensis, 5 Rotbertus Nortmannus, Hugo Magnus, Eurardus de Puisatio, Achardus de Monte Merloi, Isuardus de Musone, et alii plures. Deinde venerunt ad portum Brandosim aut Barim, siue Otrentum. Hugo denique Magnus et Wilhelmus Marchisi filius intrauerunt mare ad 10 portum Bari, et transfretantes venerunt Durachium. Audiens vero dux illius loci hos prudentissimos viros illic esse applicitos, mox mala cogitatio cor eius tetigit, illosque apprehendit, ac iussit Constantinopolim imperatori caute duci, quo ei fidelitatem facerent. Dux 15 denique Godefridus primus omnium seniorum Constantinopolim venit cum magno exercitu, duobus diebus ante Domini nostri Natale, et hospitatus est extra vrbem, donec iniquus imperator iussit eum hospitari in burgo vrbis. Cumque fuisset hospitatus dux, secure mittebat 20 armigeros suos per singulos dies, vt paleas et alia equis necessaria asportarent. Et iam cum putarent exire 1097 fiducialiter quo vellent, iniquus imperator Alexius sagaciter faciebat eos excubare, suisque Turcopolis et

88  
86 Hoc . . . factum est *HaTud*: om. Hoc . . . Octobri *CE*  
om. et mandavit *B*, pro eis *BC*

III. 1 Secunda vero pars *CRHaTud* 3 Tertia vero *C* romeniam *B* 12 om. viros *CE* 13 om. esse *C*: applicatos *CRHaTud* 15 quod ei *C* 18 hospitatus extra urbem *E* 20 om. dux *C* 22 apportarent *CER* om. iam *CE* 24 om. sagaciter . . . suisque *BCE*

25 Pincinatis imperabat eos inuadere et occidere. Balduinus itaque frater ducis haec audiens, misit se in insidiis ; tandemque inuenit eos occidentes gentem suam, eosque inuasit forti animo, ac Deo iuuante superauit eos ; et apprehendens sexaginta ex eis, partem occidit, partem 30 duci fratri suo praesentauit. Quod cum audisset imperator, valde iratus est. Videns vero dux inde iratum imperatorem, exiit cum suis de burgo, et hospitatus est extra vrbum. Sero autem facto, infelix imperator iussit suis exercitibus inuadere ducem cum Christi gente. 35 Quos dux persequens inuictus cum Christi militibus, septem ex illis occidit, persequendo alios vsque ad portam ciuitatis. Reuersusque dux ad sua tentoria, mansit inibi per quinque dies, donec pactum iniit cum imperatore ; dixitque illi imperator, vt transfretaret 40 Brachium S. Georgii, promisitque eum habere omnem mercatum ibi, sicut est Constantinopi, et pauperibus eleemosynam erogare, vnde potuissent viuere.

096 **III.** At bellipotens Boamundus qui erat in obsidione Malfi Scafardi pontis, audiens venisse innumerabilem gentem Christianorum de Francis, ituram ad Domini Sepulcrum, et paratam ad proelium contra gentem 5 paganorum, coepit diligenter inquirere quae arma pugnandi haec gens deferat, et quam ostensionem Christi in via portet, vel quod signum in certamine sonet. Cui per ordinem haec dicta sunt : ‘Deferunt arma ad bellum congrua ; in dextra vel inter vtrasque scapulas 10 crucem Christi baiulant ; signum vero, “Deus le volt, Deus le volt, Deus le volt,” vna voce conclamant.’ Mox Sancto commotus Spiritu, iussit preciosissimum pallium, quod apud se habebat, incidi, totumque statim in cruces

25 imperauit turcopolis . . . inuadere illos *C* imperavit inuadere illos *ER* 27 inuenit illos *C* 28 superauit illos *C*  
 29 partemque *C* 30 *om.* fratri suo *E* 34 *om.* ducem *B*  
 37 *om.* dux *E* 40 permisitque *BC*  
**III.** 7 via Christi *CER* : viam *B* 10 sonum vero *HaTud*  
 10-11 Deus vult, Deus vult, Deus vult *BCER* 11 clamant *C*

expendit. Coepit tunc ad eum vehementer concurrere maxima pars militum, qui erant in obsidione illa, adeo <sup>15</sup> vt Rogerius comes pene solus remanserit, reuersusque Siciliam dolebat et moerebat quandoque gentem amittere suam. Denique reuersus iterum in terram suam dominus Boamundus diligenter honestauit sese ad incipiendum Sancti Sepulcri iter. Tandem trans- <sup>20</sup> fretauit mare cum suo exercitu, et cum eo Tancredus Marchisi filius, et Richardus princeps, ac Rainulfus frater eius, et Rotbertus de Ansa, et Hermannus de Canni, Rotbertus de Surda valle, Rotbertus filius Tostani, et Hunfredus filius Radulfi, Richardus filius <sup>25</sup> comitis Rainulfi, et comes de Russinolo cum fratribus suis, et Boello Carnotensis, et Alberedus de Cagnano, et Hunfredus de Monte Scabioso. Hi omnes transfretaerunt ad Boamundi famulatum, et applicuerunt Bulgariae partibus, vbi inuenerunt nimiam abundantiam frumenti, <sup>30</sup> vini, et alimentorum corporis. Deinde descendentes in vallem de Andronopoli, exspectauerunt gentem suam, donec omnes pariter transfretassent. Tunc sapiens Boamundus ordinauit concilium cum gente sua, confortans et monens omnes, dicens : ' Seniores, cauete omnes <sup>35</sup> vos : quia nos sumus peregrini Dei. Oportet igitur nos esse magis bonos et humiles quam ante fuimus, et nolite depraedare terram istam, quia Christianorum est ; et nemo accipiat plus, nisi quod ei sufficiat ad edendum pro benedictione.' Tunc exeuntes inde, venerunt per nimiam <sup>40</sup> plenitudinem de villa in villam, de ciuitate in ciuitatem, de castello in castellum, quousque peruenimus Castoriam, ibique Natiuitatem Domini solemniter celebrauimus,

<sup>15</sup> adeo quod *C* <sup>23-24</sup> *om.* et *Rotbertus* . . . *Canni* *E* <sup>25</sup>  
 et *Richardus* *HAR* <sup>29</sup> in *bulgarie* *C* <sup>30</sup> *frumenti* et  
*HaTud* <sup>31-32</sup> *descendentes* *vallem* *C* <sup>33</sup> *om.* *sapiens* *BCER*  
<sup>35-40</sup> *monens* *omnes* (*eos* *B*) *ut boni* et *humiles* *essent*, et *ne*  
*depredarent* (*depredarentur* *B*) *terram* *istam*, *quae Christianorum*  
*erat*, *et nemo acciperet*, *nisi quod ei sufficeret* *ad edendum* (*come-*  
*dendum* *C*) *BCER*

fuimusque ibi per plures dies et quaesiuiimus mercatum ;  
 45 sed ipsi noluerunt nobis assentire, eo quod valde timebant  
 nos, non putantes nos esse peregrinos, sed velle populari  
 terram, et occidere illos. Quapropter apprehendebamus  
 boues, equos et asinos, et omnia quae inueniebamus.  
 1097 Egressi de Castoria intrauimus Palagoniam, in qua erat  
 50 quoddam haereticorum castrum, quod vnde aggressi  
 sumus, moxque nostro succubuit imperio ; accenso  
 itaque igne, combussimus castrum cum habitatoribus  
 suis, scilicet haereticorum congregazione. Postea perue-  
 nimus ad flumen Bardarum. Denique perrexit dominus  
 55 Boamundus vltra cum sua gente, sed non tota. Reman-  
 sit enim comes de Russignolo cum fratribus suis. Venit  
 itaque exercitus imperatoris, et inuasit comitem cum  
 fratribus suis, et omnes qui erant cum eis. Quod audiens  
 Tancredus rediit retro, et projectus in flumen natando  
 60 peruenit ad alios ; et duo millia miserunt se in flumen  
 sequendo Tancredem. Tandem inuenerunt Turcopulos  
 et Pinzinacos dimicantes cum nostris, quos repente  
 fortiter inuaserunt, et prudenter eos superauerunt ; et  
 apprehenderunt plures ex illis, et duxere illos ligatos  
 65 ante domini Boamundi praesentiam ; quibus ait ipse :  
 ‘Quare, miseri, occiditis gentem Christi et meam ? Ego  
 cum vestro imperatore nullam altercationem habeo.’  
 Qui responderunt : ‘Nos nequimus aliud agere. In roga  
 imperatoris sumus, et quicquid nobis imperat, nos  
 70 oportet implere.’ Quos Boamundus impunitos permisit  
 abire. Hoc bellum factum est in quarta feria, quae est  
 caput ieunii. Per omnia benedictus Dominus. Amen.

## EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS

53 *om.* scilicet . . . congregazione *BCER* 57 autem *C om.*  
 itaque *BER* 59 prociens se *C* 69 locati sumus *HaR* 71 *om.*  
 abire *E* 72 benedictus Deus *HaR* *om.* Amen *E* 73 *om.* Ex-  
 plicit . . . Primus *Ha*

## INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDVS

V. Mandauit infelix imperator simul cum nostris <sup>1097</sup> nuntiis, yni ex suis quem valde diligebat quem et Corpaliatum vocant, vt nos secure deduceret per terram suam, donec veniremus Constantinopolim. Cumque transiremus ante illorum ciuitates, iubebat habitatoribus <sup>5</sup> terrae, vt nobis apportarent mercatum, sicut faciebant et illi quos diximus. Certe tantum timebant fortissimam gentem domini Boamundi, vt nullum nostrorum sinerent intrare muros ciuitatum. Volueruntque nostri quoddam castrum aggredi et apprehendere, eo quod erat plenum <sup>10</sup> omnibus bonis. Sed vir prudens Boamundus noluit consentire, tantum pro iusticia terrae, quantum pro fiducia imperatoris. Vnde valde iratus est propter hoc cum Tancredo et aliis omnibus. Hoc factum est vespere. Mane vero facto, exierunt habitatores castri, et cum <sup>15</sup> processione deferentes in manibus cruces, venerunt in praesentiam Boamundi. Ipse vero gaudens recepit eos, et cum laetitia abire permisit illos. Deinde venimus ad quandam vrbem quae dicitur Serra, vbi nostra fiximus tentoria, et sat habuimus mercatum illis diebus <sup>20</sup> conueniens. Ibique doctus Boamundus optime concordatus est cum duobus Corpaliis, et pro amicitia eorum ac pro iustitia terrae iussit reddi omnia animalia quae

*Titulus. om. Incipit . . . Secundus Ha*

V. <sup>1</sup> Mandavit interea *C* <sup>3</sup> *om. nos E* <sup>6</sup> asportarent *E*  
<sup>10</sup> *castellum B* <sup>12</sup> tam pro . . . quam pro *C* <sup>13</sup> *om.*  
valde *ER: om. est C: om.* propter hoc *BCER* <sup>14</sup> *om. cum C*  
<sup>15</sup> Mane autem *C* <sup>17-18</sup> recepit illos et permisit abire cum  
laetitia *C* <sup>19</sup> quandam *C: quamdam HaR* <sup>21</sup> Ibi Boa-  
mundus concordatus *BCER*

nostri depraedata tenebant ; et Corpaliatus illi promis-  
 25 serat missos retro mandare, et hominibus illis animalia  
 per hominem reddi. Deinde peruenimus de castello  
 in castellum et de villa in villam ad Rusam ciuitatem.  
 Graecorum autem gens exibat et veniebat gaudens in  
 occursum domini Boamundi, nobis deferens maximum  
 30 mercatum, ibique nostros tetendimus papiliones in  
 quarta feria ante Coenam Domini ; ibi etiam doctus  
 Boamundus totam gentem suam dimisit, perrexitque  
 loqui cum iniquissimo imperatore Constantinopolim,  
 suisque hominibus imperauit, dicens : ' Modeste appro-  
 35 pinquate ciuitatem ; ego autem ibo prius,' qui et duxit  
 secum paucos milites. Tancredus remansit caput militiae  
 Christi ; vidensque peregrinos cibos emere, ait intra se  
 quod exiret extra viam et hunc populum conduceret vbi  
 feliciterviueret. Denique intrauit vallem quandam plenam  
 40 omnibus bonis quae corporalibus nutrimentis sunt con-  
 grua, in qua Pascha Domini deuotissime celebrauimus.

1097 VI. Cum imperator audisset honestissimum virum  
 Boamundum ad se venisse, iussit eum honorabiliter  
 recipi, et caute hospitari extra vrbem. Quo hospitato,  
 malignus imperator misit pro eo, vt veniret loqui simul  
 5 secreto secum. Illic quippe inuenit ducem Godefridum  
 cum fratre suo, ac deinde comes S. Aegidii appropin-  
 quauit ciuitati. Tunc imperator anxiens et bulliens ira,

24 deperdata B Corpaliatus G (Bongars) 24-26 om.  
 et Corpaliatus . . . reddi C 26 ordinem reddi B Ha Cf. Hist.  
*belli sacri.* 26-27 om. de castello . . . villam BCE 33  
 om. loqui E om. iniquissimo HaR 34-35 om. suisque  
 . . . qui et BCER 35-36 ducens ER : deducens tamen C :  
 ducens tum B 36 Tancredus vero C 38 tunc populum  
 Ha 39 in vallem HaR : quandam vallem C 40 incre-  
 mentis CER : nucrimentis B

VI. 1 Cum autem C 3 apud extra E 4 om. malignus  
 BCER om. loqui E 5 Illuc (Tunc illuc BCER)  
 quoque (om. quoque ER) venit dux (et dux C) Godefridus Ha  
 7 anxiens et bulliens G (Bongars) Ha : ebulliens ER

cogitabat quemadmodum callide fraudulenterque comprehenderent hos Christi milites. Sed diuina gratia reuelante, neque locus, neque nocendi spatium ab eo vel <sup>10</sup> a suis inuenta sunt. Nouissime vero congregati omnes maiores natu qui Constantinopoli erant, timentes ne sua priuarentur patria, repererunt in suis consiliis atque ingeniosis scematibus quod nostrorum duces, comites, seu omnes maiores imperatori sacramentum fideliter <sup>15</sup> facere deberent: Qui omnino prohibuerunt, dixeruntque: 'Certe indigni sumus atque iniustum nobis videtur nullatenus ei sacramentum iurare. Forsitan adhuc a nostris maioribus saepe delusi erimus.' Ad ultimum quid facturi erant? Dicent, quoniam necessitate compulsi, nolentes volentesque humiliauerunt se ad nequissimi imperatoris voluntatem. Fortissimo autem viro Boamundo, quem valde timebat, quia olim eum saepe cum suo exercitu eiecerat de campo, dixit, quoniam si libenter ei iuraret, quindecim dies eundi terrae <sup>25</sup> in extensione ab Antiochia retro daret, et octo in latitudine: eique tali modo iurauit, ut si ille fideliter teneret illud sacramentum, iste suum nunquam praeteriret. Tam fortes et tam duri milites, cur hoc fecerunt? Propterea igitur, quia multa coacti erant necessitate. <sup>30</sup> Imperator quoque omnibus nostris fidem et securitatem dedit, iurauit etiam quia veniret nobiscum pariter cum suo exercitu per terram mareque; et nobis mercatum terra atque mari fideliter daret, ac omnia nostra perdita diligenter restauraret; insuper et neminem nostrorum <sup>35</sup> peregrinorum conturbari vel contrastari in via Sancti

8-9 comprehenderet C      10 om. nocendi C      12 om. natu C  
 13 reperierunt C      15 omnesque C: om. seu C      fidelitatis C  
 16 deberent (debent E). Quod CER: deberent, qui Ha  
 17-18 iustum . . . nullatenus B CER      19 delusi eximus E  
 20 erunt HaR      23 om. saepe E      30 scilicet quia multi C  
 32 om. pariter B      33 per terram et per mare HaR      34  
 terra marique HaR

Sepulcri vellet aut permitteret. Comes autem S. Aegidii erat hospitatus extra vrbem in burgo, gensque sua remanserat retro. Mandauit itaque imperator comiti, vt 40 faceret ei hominum et fiduciam, sicut alii fecerant. Et dum imperator haec mandabat, comes meditabatur qualiter vindictam de imperatoris exercitu habere posset. Sed dux Godefridus et Rotbertus comes Flandrensis aliique principes dixerunt ei iniustum fore contra 45 Christianos pugnare. Vir quoque sapiens Boamundus dixit quia, si aliquid iniustum imperatori faceret, et fiduciam ei facere prohiberet, ipse ex imperatoris parte fieret. Igitur comes, accepto consilio a suis, Alexio vitam et honorem iurauit, quod nec ipse nec 50 per alium auferre consentiat. Cumque de hominio appellaretur, non se respondit pro capitis periculo id facturum. Tunc gens domini Boamundi appropinquauit Constantinopoli.

1097 VII. Tancredus vero et Richardus de Principatu propter iusurandum imperatoris latenter transfretauerunt Brachium, et fere omnis gens Boamundi iuxta illos. Et mox exercitus comitis S. Aegidii appropin- 5 quauit Constantinopoli. Comes vero remansit ibi cum ipsa sua gente. Vir itaque prudens Boamundus remansit cum imperatore, vt cum eo consilium acciperet, quomodo mandarent mercatum gentibus quae erant vltra Nicenam vrbem. Dux itaque Godefridus iuit prius Nicomediam 10 simul cum Tancredo et aliis omnibus, fueruntque ibi per tres dies. Videns vero dux quod nulla via pateret per quam posset conducere has gentes vsque Niceam

41 mandaret C: mandasset B      42 habere potuisset CER  
 45 Vir itaque B      48 ideo comes C      49 nec per se  
 HaR      50 ei auferre HaR: auferri consentiret C      Cum de C  
 51 non se pro cap. per. id fact. respondit HaR      om. respondit  
 B      52 om. domini ER

VII. 6 gente. Boamundus itaque remansit BCER      8-9 Ni-  
 ceam civitatem HaR

ciuitatem, quoniam per illam viam per quam prius alii transierant, non posset modo tanta gens transire, misit ante se tria millia hominum cum securibus et gladiis, qui 15 inciderunt et aperuerunt hanc viam quae patefacta staret nostris peregrinis vsque Nicenam vrbem. Quae via fuit aperta per angustam et nimis immensam montaneam, et faciebant retro per viam crucis ferreas ac ligneas, quas ponebant super stipites, vt eas nostri peregrini cognoscerent. Interea peruenimus ad Niceam, quae est caput totius Romaniae, in quarto die pridie nonas Maii; ibique castrametati sumus. Priusquam autem dominus Boamundus venisset ad nos, tanta inopia panis fuit inter nos, vt vnuis panis vnderetur viginti aut triginta denariis. 25 Postquam venit vir prudens Boamundus, iussit maximum mercatum conduci per mare, et pariter vtrimeque veniebant, ille per terram et ille per mare, et fuit maxima vbertas in tota Christi militia.

VIII. In die autem Ascensionis Domini coepimus 1097 vrbem vnde quaque inuadere et aedificare instrumenta lignorum turresque ligneas quo possemus murales turre sternere. Tam fortiter et tam acriter aggredimur vrbem per duos dies, vt etiam foderemus murum vrbis. 5 Turci quippe, licet gens barbara, qui erant in vrbe, miserunt nuntios aliis, qui venerant adiutorium ciuitati dare, in hunc modum, quod audacter secureque approximant, et per meridianam introeant portam, quoniam ex illa nemo eis erit obuiam nec contristabit. Quae 10 porta ipsa die a comite S. Aegidii in die Sabbathi post

14 tota gens *BER* 16 inciderent et aperirent *Ha*: incidunt et aperuissent *BER* 16-17 patefacta fieret *ER* 22 et in *C* II. nonas *CE* 24-25 fuit apud nos *ER* 26 Postquam vero *C*

VIII. 2 circumquaque *HaR* 3 atque turre *HaR* quibus possemus *C* 4 aggressi sumus *C* 5 effoderemus *C* 6 Turci vero *C* om. licet gens barbara *BCER* 8 quo audacter *B* 10 illa parte *HaR* om. erit *C* neque contristaret *C*

Ascensionem Domini et episcopo Podiensi hospitata est. Qui comes veniens ex alia parte, protectus diuina virtute, ac terrenis fulgebat armis cum suo fortissimo exercitu.

15 Hic itaque inuenit contra nos venientes Turcos. Qui vnde signo crucis armatus, vehementer irruit super illos atque superauit; dederuntque fugam et fuit mortua maxima pars illorum. Qui rursus venerunt auxilio aliorum gaudentes et exultantes ad certum bellum,

20 trahentes secum funes, quibus nos ligatos ducerent Corosanum. Venientes autem laetantes, coeperunt ex cacumine montis paulatim descendere. Quotquot descendenterunt, illic caesis capitibus a manibus nostrorum remanserunt; proiiciebant autem nostri capita occisorum funda in urbem, ut inde Turci magis terrerentur.

Denique comes S. Aegidii et episcopus Podiensis consiliati sunt in unum qualiter facerent subfodi quandam turrim quae erat ante tentoria eorum. Ordinati sunt homines qui hanc subfodian, et arbalistae et sagittarii

30 qui eos vnde defendant. Foderunt namque illam usque ad radices muri, submiseruntque postes et ligna, ac deinde miserunt ignem. Sero autem facto cecidit turris iam in nocte; sed quia nox erat, non potuerunt praeliari cum illis. Nocte vero illa surrexerunt festi-

35 nanter Turci et restaurarunt murum tam fortiter, ut, veniente die, nemo posset eos laedere ex illa parte. Modo venit comes de Nortmannia et comes Stephanus et alii plures, ac deinceps Rogerius de Barnavilla. Boamundus denique obsedit urbem in prima fronte et iuxta eum

12 et ab episcopo C hospitata fuit HaR 13 veniebat C  
 14 fulgens C 17 dederunt ER 17-18 om. dederunt ...  
 illorum C 22 quotquot autem C 23 in manibus R: anima-  
 bus E: per manus C 25 fundis C 28 ordinatiique  
 C 29 qui eam suffoderent C 30 defenderent. Suffoderunt  
 igitur C 31 om. postes E 33 scilicet quia B om. potuerunt  
 C 35 restauraverunt HaR 37 venit Rotbertus comes  
 (comes C) CER Normannie C

Tancredus et postea dux Godefridus ac deinde comes 40  
 Flandrensis, iuxta quem Rotbertus Nortmannus, et  
 iuxta eum comes S. Aegidii, iuxta quem Podiensis  
 episcopus. Ita vero per terram fuit obsessa, vt nemo  
 auderet exire, neque intrare; fueruntque ibi omnes con-  
 gregati in vnum. Et quis poterat numerare tantam 45  
 Christi militiam? Nullus, vt puto, tot prudentissimos  
 milites nec antea vidi nec vltra videre poterit. Erat  
 autem ex vna parte vrbis immensus lacus, in quo Turci  
 suas mittebant naues, et exibant et intrabant et affere-  
 bant herbam, ligna et alia plura. Tunc nostri maiores 50  
 consiliati in vnum, miserunt nuncios Constantinopolim  
 dicturos imperatori, vt faceret naues conduci ad Ciuitatem,  
 vbi portus est, atque iuberet congregari boues qui eas  
 traherent per montaneas et sylvas, vsque approximarent  
 lacui; quod continuo factum est, suosque Turcopulos 55  
 mandauit cum eis. Die vero quo naues fuerant con-  
 ductae, noluerunt eas statim mittere in lacum, sed, nocte  
 superueniente, miserunt eas in ipsum lacum plenas  
 Turcopolis, bene armatis. Summo autem diluculo stabant  
 naues optime ordinatae, per lacum properantes contra 60  
 vrbem. Videntes eas Turci mirabantur, ignorantes an  
 esset eorum gens, an imperatoris. Postquam autem  
 cognouerunt esse gentem imperatoris, timuerunt vsque  
 ad mortem, plorantes et lamentantes; Francique  
 gaudebant et dabant gloriam Deo. Videntes autem 65  
 Turci quod nullatenus ex suis exercitibus adiutorium  
 habere possent, legationem mandauerunt imperatori,

41 quem comes *ER* Robertus Comes *C* Normannie *CER*  
 44 intrare aut exire *ER* neque exire *C* omnes nostri *C* 45  
 quis posset *C* 51 legatos *C* 52 qui dicerent *C*  
 53 portus atque *C* 54 usque dum approximarent *C* 55  
*om.* lacui *C* factum fuit *ER* 57-58 *om.* sed . . . lacum *G*  
*(Bongars)* 59 bene ornatis armis *CHA*: *om.* armis *ER*  
 Summo vero *C* 61 autem Turci *C* 61-62 utrum esset *C*  
 62-63 *om.* Postquam imperatoris *E* 64 Franci vero *C*

quia ciuitatem sponte redderent, si eos omnino abire  
 70 permetteret cum mulieribus et filiis et omnibus sub-  
 stantii suis. Tunc imperator, plenus vana et iniqua  
 cogitatione, iussit illos impunitos abire sine vlo timore  
 ac sibi eos Constantinopolim cum magna fiducia adduci.  
 Quos studiose seruabat, vt illos ad Francorum nocumenta  
 et obstacula paratos haberet. Fuimusque in obsidione illa  
 75 per septem hebdomas et tres dies, et multi ex nostris  
 illic receperunt martyrium et laetantes gaudentesque  
 reddiderunt felices animas Deo, et ex pauperrima gente  
 multi mortui sunt fame pro Christi nomine, qui in coelum  
 triumphantes portarunt stolam recepti martyrii, vna  
 80 voce dicentes: 'Vindica, Domine, sanguinem nostrum,  
 qui pro te effusus est, qui es benedictus et laudabilis in  
 secula seculorum. Amen.'

## EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDVS

68 omnimodo *HaR* 72 *om. cum . . . fiducia C* 74 fui-  
 mus *ER* 75-76 nostris illuc *C* 79 portauerunt *HaR* :  
 triumphant portantes *C* animas stolam *E* 83 *om.*  
 Explicit . . . Secundus *Ha*

## INCIPIT LIBER TERTIVS

**IX.** Interea reddita ciuitate et Turcis deductis Constantiopolim, unde imperator magis magisque gausus, quod ciuitas reddita sit eius potestati, iussit maximas eleemosynas erogari nostris pauperibus. Denique prima die qua recessimus a ciuitate, venimus ad quendam pontem, ibique mansimus per duos dies. Tertia autem die, priusquam lux coepisset oriri, surrexerunt nostri, et quia nox erat, non viderunt tenere vnam viam, sed sunt diuisi per duo agmina et venerunt diuisi per duos dies. In uno agmine fuit vir Boamundus et Rotbertus Normannus et prudens Tancredus et alii plures; in alio fuit comes S. Aegidii et dux Godefridus et Podiensis episcopus et Hugo Magnus comesque Flandrensis et alii plures. Tertia vero die irruerunt Turci vehementer super Boamundum et eos qui cum ipso erant. Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare excelsa voce, dicentes diabolicum sonum nescio quo modo in sua lingua. Sapiens vir Boamundus videns innumerabiles Turcos, procul stridentes et clamantes daemonicaca voce, protinus iussit omnes milites descendere et tentoria celeriter extendere. Priusquam tentoria fuissent extensa, rursus dixit omnibus militibus: 'Seniores et fortissimi milites Christi, ecce modo bellum angustum est vnde circa nos. Igitur omnes milites eant viriliter obuiam illis, et pedites prudenter et citius extendant tentoria.' Postquam vero hoc totum factum est Turci

*Titulus. om. Incipit . . . Tertius Ha*

**IX. 3** civitas eius reddita sit potestati **C** **5-6** quandam civitatem **C** **9** veneruntque **C** **10** nobilis vir **C** **10-11** Comes Normannie Rotbertus **C:** Nortmannorum comes **ER** **11-14** om. in alio . . . plures **E** **18** sapiens autem **C** **24** erant viriliter **E**

vndique iam erant circumcingentes nos, dimicando,  
 iaculando ac spiculando et mirabiliter longe lateque  
 sagittando. Nos itaque, quanquam nequiuimus resistere  
 30 illis neque sufferre pondus tantorum hostium, tamen  
 pertulimus illuc vnanimiter gradum. Foeminae quoque  
 nostrae in illa die fuerunt nobis in magno refugio, quae  
 afferebant ad bibendum aquam nostris praeliatoribus,  
 et fortiter semper confortabant illos pugnantes et  
 35 defendantes. Vir itaque sapiens Boamundus protinus  
 mandauit aliis, scilicet egregio comiti de S. Aegidio et  
 inclito duci Godefrido, Hugoni Magno atque honestissi-  
 mo Podiensi episcopo aliisque omnibus Christi  
 militibus, quo festinent et ad bellum citius approximent,  
 40 dicens : 'Etsi hodie luctari volunt, viriliter veniant.' Qui  
 omnimodo prohibentes deludentes illos et dicentes :  
 'Veruntamen hoc fallacium est totum.' Nam nos non  
 credebamus iam illos esse tam pudentes quod amplius  
 auderent se erigere et praeliari nobiscum. Dux itaque  
 45 Godefridus audax et fortis, ac Hugo Magnus simul  
 venerunt prius cum suis exercitibus, episcopus quoque  
 Podiensis prosecutus est illos, vna cum suo exercitu, et  
 comes de S. Aegidio iuxta illos cum magna gente. Mira-  
 bantur ergo nostri valde vnde esset exorta tanta multi-  
 50 tudo Turcorum et Arabum et Saracenorum et aliorum  
 quos enumerare ignoro ; quia pene omnes montes, colles,  
 valles et omnia plana loca intus et extra vndique erant  
 cooperta de illa excommunicata generatione. Factus est  
 itaque sermo secretus inter nos laudantes et consulentes

28 et iaculando *HaR*      *om.* ac spiculando *CER*      29  
 quamquam *Ha* :      *om.* quanquam *CER*      31 pertulimus illic *E*  
 32 nostrae illa *CE*      maximo refugio *HaR*      34 forsitan  
 semper *Ha*      36 *om.* egregio *BC* comite scilicet *ER*      37 *om.*  
 inclito *BCER* et *Hugoni HaR*      37-38 *om.* honestissimo *BCER*  
 39 quod festinent *CER*      40-44 *om.* Qui omnimodo . . .  
 praeliari nobiscum *BCE*      46 episcopus vero *C*      48 cum magna  
 gente iuxta illa *C*      49 *om.* valde *C*      50 Turcorum Arabum *C*  
 50-51 *om.* aliorum quos *CE*      51-52 montes et colles et  
 valles *HaR*      52 montes et colles *E*      54 nos et *ER*

atque dicentes: 'Estote omnino unanimes in fide 55 Christi et S. Crucis vexilli victoria, quia hodie omnes diuites, si Deo placet, effecti eritis.' Continuo fuerunt ordinatae nostrorum acies. In sinistra parte fuit vir sapiens Boamundus et Rotbertus Nortmannus et prudens Tancredus ac honestissimus miles Rotbertus de 60 Ansa et inclitus Richardus de Principatu. Episcopus vero Podiensis venit per alteram montaneam, vnde circumcingens incredulos Turcos. In sinistra quoque parte equitauit fortissimus miles Raimundus comes de 65 S. Aegidio. In dextera vero parte fuit honorabilis dux 70 Godefridus et acerrimus miles Flandrensis comes et Hugo Magnus, et alii plures, quorum nomina ignoro. Statim autem venientibus militibus nostris, Turci et 75 Arabes et Saraceni et Agulani, et omnes barbarae nationes dederunt velociter fugam, per compendia montium et per plana loca. Erat autem numerus Turcorum, Persarum, Publicanorum, Saracenorum, Angulorum aliorumque paganorum, trecenta sexaginta millia, extra Arabes, quorum numerum nemo scit nisi solus Deus. Fugerunt vero nimis velociter ad sua tentoria, 75 ibique eos diu morari non licuit. Iterum vero arripuerunt fugam, nosque illos persecuti sumus occidentes tota vna die. Et accepimus spolia multa: aurum, argentum, equos et asinos, camelos, oves et boues et plurima alia quae ignoramus. Et nisi Dominus fuisset nobiscum in 80 bello et aliam cito nobis misisset aciem, nullus nostrorum euassisset, quia ab hora tertia usque in horam nonam perdurauit haec pugna. Sed omnipotens Deus, pius et

56 *om. vexilli BCE* 57 *erimus C* 59 *comesque nor-*  
*mannie Robertus CER* 60 *om. honestissimus miles*  
*BCER* 61 *om. inclitus BCER* 63 *circumcingentes CE*  
*om. quoque R* 65 *om. honorabilis BCER* 69 *om. et omnes*  
*ER* 75 *fugerunt igitur ER* 77 *om. velociter CE*  
*occidendo CER* 79 *equos asinos CER* 82 *usque ad C*

misericors, qui non permisit suos milites perire nec in manus inimicorum incidere, festine nobis adiutorium misit.  
 85 Sed fuerunt illic mortui duo ex nostris milites honorabiles, scilicet Gosfredus de monte Scabioso et Wilhelmus Marchisi filius frater Tancredi, aliique milites et pedites, quorum nomina ignoro. Quis vñquam tam sapiens aut  
 90 doctus vir audebit describere prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum? Qui putabant terrere gentem Francorum minis suarum sagittarum, sicut terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos et Hermenios, Suranios et Graecos?  
 Sed, si Deo placet, nunquam tantum valebunt quantum  
 95 nostri. Veruntamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi. Veritatem dicam, quam nemo audebit prohibere. Certe, si in fide Christi et Christianitate sancta semper firmi fuissent et vnum Dominum  
 100 in trinitate confiteri voluissent, Deique Filium natum de Virgine matre, passum, resurgentem a mortuis tertia die et in coelum suis cernentibus discipulis ascendentem, ac deinde consolationem Sancti Spiritus perfecte mittentem et eum in coelo et in terra regnantem, recta mente et fide  
 105 credidissent, ipsis potentiores vel fortiores vel bellorum ingeniosissimos nullus inuenire potuisset; et tamen gratia Dei victi sunt a nostris. Hoc bellum est factum primo die Iulii.

## EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIVS

86 om. ex nostris *ER* 87 Gosfridus... Scobioso *C* Godefredus *ER*: Godefridus *Ha* 90 om. vir *HaR* militiam et *HaR* 98 prohibere potest: om. audebit *ER* 99 om. semper *C* 101 om. matre *ER* et resurgentem *Ha* resurrexisse *codd. R* 102 ascen-  
 disse suis cernentibus discipulis *codd. R* 102-103 om. ac deinde *codd. R* 103 consolationemque *BER* misisse *codd. R*  
 105 ipsi *E*: etiam ipsis *C* et fortiores *CER* 109 om. Ex-  
 plicit... *Tertius Ha*

## INCIPIT LIBER QUARTVS

X. Postquam vero Turci, inimici Dei et sanctae 1097 Christianitatis, omnino fuerunt deuicti, per quatuor dies et noctes fugientes huc et illuc, contigit vt Solimanus dux illorum, filius Solimani veteris, fugeret de Nicea, qui inuenit decem millia Arabum, qui dixerunt ei : ' O 5 infelix, et infelior omnibus gentilibus, cur tremefactus fugis ? ' Quibus Solimanus lacrymans respondit : ' Quoniam olim cum habuissem omnes Francos deuictos, eosque putarem iam in captiuitate ligatos, dum paulatim voluissem ligare adinuicem, tunc respiciens retro, vidi 10 tam innumerabilem gentem eorum, vt si vos aut aliquis illic adesset, putaret quod omnes montes et colles vallesque et omnia plana loca plena essent illorum multitudine. Nos igitur illos cernentes, statim coepimus capere subitaneum iter, timentes tam mirabiliter, vt vix 15 euaserimus de illorum manibus ; vnde adhuc in nimio terrore sumus. Et si mihi et verbis meis velletis credere, auferretis vos hinc, quia, si et ipsi potuerint vos solummodo scire, vnuis ex vobis vix amplius euadet viuens.' At illi audientes talia retrorsum verterunt dora et se 20 expanderunt per vniuersam Romaniam. Tunc veniebamus nos persequentes iniquissimos Turcos, quotidie fugientes ante nos. At illi venientes ad cuncta castra siue vrbes, fingentes et deludentes habitatores terrarum illarum dicebant : ' Nos deuicimus Christianos omnes, et 25 superauimus illos, ita vt nullus eorum iam vnuquam

*Titulus. om. Incipit . . . Quartus Ha*

X. 7 Qui G (Bongars) lacrimabiliter Ha 12 illuc adesset  
C 14 om. statim C 19 vivus HaER 20 diver-  
terunt dora ER 21 per totam B 26 om. iam unquam B

audeat erigere se ante nos ; tantum permittite nos intus  
 intrare.' Qui intrantes spoliabant ecclesias et domos et  
 alia omnia et ducebant equos secum et asinos et mulos,  
 30 aurum, argentum et ea quae reperire poterant. Adhuc  
 quoque filios Christianorum secum tollebant et ardebat  
 ac deuastabant omnia conuenientia siue vtilia, fugientes  
 et pauentes valde ante faciem nostram. Nos itaque  
 persequebamur eos per deserta et inaquosa et inhabita-  
 35 bilem terram, ex qua vix viui euasimus vel exiuimus.  
 Fames vero et sitis vndique coartabant nos, nihilque  
 penitus nobis erat ad edendum, nisi forte vellentes et  
 fricantes spicas manibus nostris, tali cibo quam miser-  
 rime viuebamus. Illic fuit mortua maxima pars no-  
 40 strorum equorum, eo quod multi eorum remanserunt  
 pedites, et pro penuria equorum erant nobis boues loco  
 caballorum, et pro nimia necessitate succedebant nobis  
 capri et multones ac canes ad portandum. Interea  
 coepimus intrare in terram optimam, plenam corporali-  
 45 bus alimentis et delitiis omnibusque bonis, ac deinceps  
 appropinquauimus Yconio. Habitatores vero terrae  
 illius suadebant et amonebant nos nobiscum ferre vtres  
 plenos aqua, quia illic, in itinere diei vnius, est maxima  
 penuria aquae. Nos vero ita fecimus donec peruenimus  
 50 ad quoddam flumen, ibique hospitati sumus per duos  
 dies ; cooperunt autem cursores nostri ante ire, donec  
 peruererunt ad Erachiam, in qua erat Turcorum nimia  
 congregatio, exspectans et insidians quomodo posset  
 Christi milites nocere et contristare. Quos Turcos Dei  
 55 omnipotentis milites inuenientes audacter inuaserunt ;

27 contra nos *CER* 29 *om.* equos *CE* secum asinos  
 C 30 aurum et argentum *CHaR* et (*om. B*) omnia *CER* 31  
*om.* quoque *B* 34 desertam *CER* inaquosam *HaR* 36 coar-  
 tabat *C* 39-40 *om.* nostrorum *R* 40 equitum *HaR* : *om.*  
 eo quod *R* 44 incepimus *B* 45 et divitiis *CER* ac deinde  
*C* 47 ut nobiscum ferremus *C* 49 Nosque ita *C*  
 venimus *B* 54 militibus *CER* *om.* et contristare *codd. R*

superati itaque sunt inimici nostri in illa die; tamque celeriter fugiebant, quam sagitta fugit emissa ictu valido cordae et arcus; nostri igitur intrauerunt statim in ciuitatem, ibique mansimus per quatuor dies. Illic diuisit se ab aliis Tancredus, Marchisi filius, et Balduinus 60 comes egregius, frater ducis Godefridi; simulque intrauerunt vallem de Botrenthrot. Diuisit quoque se Tancredus et venit Tarsum solummodo cum suis militibus. Exierunt denique Turci de vrbe et venerunt obuiam eis atque in vnum congregati properauerunt ad bellum 65 contra Christianos. Appropinquantibus itaque nostris et pugnantibus, dederunt inimici nostri fugam, reuertentes in vrbem celeri gressu. Tancredus vero, vir prudens atque honorabilis miles Christi, peruenit laxatis loris et castrametatus est ante portam vrbis. Ex alia 70 igitur parte venit vir inclitus comes Balduinus cum suo exercitu, postulans et depraecans Tancrenum, acerrimum militem, quatinus eum amicissime in societatem ciuitatis dignaretur suspicere. Cui ait Tancredus: 'Te omnimodo in hac societate denego.' Nocte itaque superueniente, 75 omnes Turci tremefacti fugam vna arripuerunt. Exierunt itaque habitatores ciuitatis sub illa noctis obscuritate, clamantes excelsa voce: 'Currite, inuictissimi Franci, currite! Quia Turci expergefacti vestro timore omnes pariter recederunt.' Orta autem die, venerunt 80 maiores ciuitatis et reddiderunt sponte ciuitatem, dicentes illis qui super hoc litigabant adinuicem: 'Sinite modo, seniores, sinite! Quia volumus et petimus domi-

58 corda et ictu C chorda et arcu ER 60 om. ab aliis E  
 61 om. egregius codd. R 63 om. solummodo codd. R  
 65 venerunt ad ER: inierunt (om. ad) C: praepaverunt se  
 Tud 67 repugnantibus ER 68 celeri cursu C  
 68-69 om. vir prudens atque honorabilis codd. R 72 om.  
 et depraecans codd. R 72-73 om. acerrimum militem codd. R  
 74 omnino B 76-77 exierunt denique HaR 77 sub  
 ipsa C 80 recesserunt ER: recedunt Ha Tud.

nari et regnare super nos illum qui heri tam viriliter  
 85 pugnauit cum Turcis.' Balduinus itaque, mirificus comes,  
 altercabatur et litigabat cum Tancredo, dicens : ' Intre-  
 mus simul et spoliemus ciuitatem ; et qui plus potuerit  
 habere, habeat ; et qui poterit capere, capiat.' Cui  
 obstans fortissimus Tancredus dixit : ' Absit hoc a me ;  
 90 ego namque Christianos nolo exspoliare ; homines istius  
 ciuitatis elegerunt me dominum super se, meque habere  
 desiderant.' Tandem nequiuit vir fortis diu luctari cum  
 Balduino doctissimo comite, quia illi magnus erat exer-  
 citus ; tamen volens nolensque dimisit eam et viriliter  
 95 recessit cum suo exercitu ; fueruntque ei statim traditae  
 duae optimae ciuitates, videlicet Athena et Manustra,  
 et plurima castra.

1097 **XI.** Maior vero exercitus, scilicet Raimundus comes  
 de S. Aegidio et doctissimus Boamundus duxque Gode-  
 fridus et alii principes, in Hermeniorum intrauerunt  
 terram, sitientes atque aestuantes Turcorum sanguinem.  
 5 Tandem peruererunt ad quoddam castrum quod tam  
 forte erat, vt nihil ei possent facere. Erat autem ibi  
 homo quidam nomine Symeon, qui in illa ortus fuit  
 regione, quique hanc petiit terram, quo eam de manibus  
 defenderet Turcorum inimicorum ; cui sponte illi dede-  
 10 runt terram, quique remansit ibi cum sua gente. Nos  
 denique exeuntes inde peruenimus feliciter vsque  
 Caesaream Cappadociae ; a Cappadocia autem egressi  
 venimus ad quandam ciuitatem pulcerrimam et nimis

86 altercabat *E* 87-88 quis plus poterit capere capere  
 capiat (*sic*) *C* 89 *om.* obstans *codd.* *R* Tancredus ait *ER*  
 89-90 *om.* *hoc* . . . exspoliare *ER* 90-91 illius civitatis *ER* :  
 huius civ. *CHA* : istius civ. *Tud* 91 habere dominum *ER* 92  
 vir fortis (fortissimus *C*) Tancredus *HaR* 93 *om.* doctissimo  
*codd.* *R* 94 et volens *C* *om.* viriliter *C*

**XI.** 3 alii plures *codd.* *R* 7 ortus fuerat *CER* 8 qui  
 eam *C* 9-10 sponte tradiderunt illam remansitque *C*  
 11 usque ad *codd.* *R*

vberrimam, quam paululum ante nostrum aduentum  
 obsederant Turci per tres ~~hebdomadas~~, sed non superau-  
 erant ; mox illuc aduenientibus nobis continuo tradi-  
 dit se in manu nostra cum magna laetitia. Hanc 15  
 igitur petiit quidam miles, cui nomen Petrus de Alpibus, ab  
 omnibus senioribus, quatinus eam defenderet in fidelitate  
 Dei et S. Sepulcri et seniorum atque imperatoris, cui 20  
 cum nimio amore gratis concesserunt eam. Sequenti  
 nocte audiuit Boamundus quod Turci qui fuerant in  
 obsessione ciuitatis frequenter praecederent nos ; ex-  
 templo praeparauit se solummodo cum militibus, qua-  
 tinus illos vndique expugnaret ; sed eos inuenire non 25  
 potuit. Deinde venimus ad quandam vrbem nomine  
 Coxon, in qua erat maxima vbertas omnium bonorum,  
 quae nobis erant necessaria. Christiani igitur, videlicet  
 alumni vrbis illius, reddiderunt se statim ; nosque fui-  
 mus ibi optime per tres dies, et illic maxime sunt 30  
 recuperati nostri. Audiens itaque Raimundus comes de  
 S. Aegidio quod Turci qui erant in custodia Antiochiae  
 discessissent, in suo inuenit consilio quod mitteret illuc  
 aliquos ex suis militibus qui eam diligenter custodirent.  
 Tandem elegit illos quos legare voluit, videlicet Petrum 35  
 de Castellione vicecomitem, Wilhelmum de Monte  
 Pislerio, Petrum de Roasa, Petrum Reimundum de Pul,  
 cum quingentis militibus. Venerunt itaque in vallem  
 prope Antiochiam ad quoddam castrum Publicanorum ;  
 illicque audierunt Turcos esse in ciuitate, eamque fortiter 40  
 defendere praeparabant. Petrus de Roasa diuisit se ibi

14 paulo C 16 mox vero illic C etiam continuo C 19 ut  
 eam C fidelitatem C 20 om. Dei et C 23 obsidione ER  
 eiusdem ciuitatem C 23-24 extemplo Ha : moxque C: mox BER  
 24 cum suis C 24-25 sed illos HaR 31 recuperati nostrorum  
 multi ER Audiens autem C: igitur ER 31-32 om. de S.  
 Aegidio BC 33 mitteret illic C 35 Et elegit C: elegerunt  
 E legare volebat EH a 38 itaque hii C 40 eam  
 fortiter C 41 properabant ER: preparatos C

ab aliis, et proxima nocte transiuit prope Antiochiam, intravitque vallem de Rugia, et inuenit Turcos et Saracenos et praeliatus est cum eis et occidit multos 45 ex eis et alios persecutus est valde. Videntes hoc Hermenii habitatores terrae illius, illum fortiter superasse paganos, continuo reddiderunt se. Ipse vero statim coepit Rusam ciuitatem et plurima castra. Nos autem qui remansimus, exeuntes inde intrauimus in diabolicam 50 montanam, quae tam erat alta et angusta, ut nullus nostrorum auderet per semitam quae in monte patebat alium praeire. Illic praecipitabant se equi et unus saumarius praecipitabat alium. Milites ergo stabant vnde tristes, feriebant se manibus pree nimia tristitia 55 et dolore, dubitantes quid facerent de semetipsis et de suis armis, vendentes suos clipeos et loricas optimas cum galeis solummodo propter tres aut quinque denarios vel pro ut quisque poterat habere. Qui autem vendere nequibant, gratis a se iactabant et ibant. 60 Exeuntes igitur de execrata montana peruenimus ad ciuitatem quae vocatur Marasi. Cultores vero illius ciuitatis exierunt obuiam nobis laetantes et deferentes maximum mercatum ; illicque habuimus omnem copiam, exspectando donec veniret dominus Boamundus. Vene- 65 runt itaque nostri milites in vallem in qua regalis ciuitas Antiochia sita est, quae est caput totius Syriae, quamque Dominus Iesus Christus tradidit beato Petro Apostolorum principi, quatinus eam ad cultum sanctae fidei reuocaret, qui viuit et regnat cum Deo Patre in 70 vnitate Spiritus S. Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

42 transiuit ante C om. prope E 46 illum scilicet CER 48  
 om. Rusam G (Bongars) 49 euntes ER 52 ante alium HaR  
 54 feriebantque C 56 vendebant autem C: ergo ER 58  
 qui vero C 60 execribili C 61 Marasim CHaR 64 exspec-  
 tantes C 67 om. Christus ER 70 om. Deus ER

XII. Cum coepissemus appropinquare ad pontem <sup>1097</sup> Farreum, cursores nostri, qui semper solebant nos praecedere, inuenerunt Turcos innumerabiles congregatos obuiam eis, qui dare adiutorium Antiochiae festinabant. Irruentes igitur nostri vno corde et mente super illos, <sup>5</sup> superauerunt Turcos. Consternati sunt barbari, dede-runtque fugam, et multi mortui sunt ex eis in ipso certamine. Nostri igitur superantes illos, Dei gratia, acceperunt spolia multa, equos, camelos, mulos, asinos onustos frumento et vino. Venientes denique nostri, <sup>10</sup> castrametati sunt super ripam fluminis. Protinus vir sapiens Boamundus cum quatuor millibus militum venit ante portam ciuitatis vigilare, si forte aliquis nocte latenter exiret aut intraret ciuitatem. Crastina vero die peruererunt usque Antiochiam media die, in quarta <sup>15</sup> feria, quae est duodecima Kal. Nou., et obsedimus mirabiliter tres portas ciuitatis, quoniam in alia parte de-erat nobis locus obsidendi, quia alta et nimis angusta montanea nos coartabat. Tantum autem timebant nos vndique inimici nostri Turci, qui erant intus in vrbe, vt <sup>20</sup> nemo eorum auderet offendere aliquem ex nostris fere per spacium dierum quindecim. Mox hospitantes nos circa Antiochiam reperimus illic omnem abundantiam, videlicet vineas vndique plenas, foueas plenas frumento, arbores refertas pomis, et alia multa bona corporibus <sup>25</sup> vtilia. Hermenii et Suriani qui erant intus in vrbe, exeuntes et ostendentes sese fugere, cotidie erant nobis-cum, sed eorum vxores in ciuitate. Illi vero ingeniose inuestigabant nostrum esse nostramque qualitatem, referebantque omnia his excommunicatis qui erant in <sup>30</sup>

XII. 1 Cumque CER 2 ferreum ER 6 consternatique C  
 7 ex illis C 13 om. nocte ER 14 exiret vel C 15 usque ad  
 HaR 21 nemo illorum audebat C ex nobis E 24 om.  
 videlicet C 27 et simulantes C qui quotidie ER: etiam coti-  
 die C 28 uxores eorum remanserant C 30 hiis C om.  
 excommunicatis BCE om. erant Ha

vrbe inclusi. Postquam vero Turci fuerunt edocti de nostra essentia, coeperunt paulatim vrbe exire, nostros peregrinos vndique coangustare, non solum ex vna parte, sed vndique erant latentes obuiam nobis ad mare 35 et ad montaneam. Erat autem non longe castrum cui nomen Aregh, vbi erant congregati multi Turci fortissimi, qui frequenter conturbabant nostros. Audientes itaque nostri seniores talia, nimis doluerunt, miseruntque ex militibus suis, qui diligenter explorarent locum vbi 40 erant Turci; reperto igitur loco vbi latebant, nostri milites, qui quaerebant illos, obuiant eis. At nostris paulatim retrogradientibus vbi sciebant Boamundum esse cum suo exercitu, statim fuerunt illic mortui duo ex nostris. Hoc audiens Boamundus, surrexit cum suis 45 vt fortissimus Christi athleta, et barbari irruerunt contra illos, eo quod nostri erant pauci; tamen simul iuncti inierunt bellum. Mortui sunt vero multi ex nostris inimicis et capti alii ducti sunt ante portam vrbis, ibique decollabantur, vt magis tristes fierent qui erant 50 in vrbe. Exibant quidem alii de ciuitate et descendebant in quandam portam et sagittabant nos ita vt sagittae eorum caderent in domini Boamundi plateam, et vna mulier occubuit ictu sagittae.

1097 XIII. Congregati itaque sunt omnes maiores nostri et ordinauerunt consilium, dicentes: 'Faciamus castrum in vertice montis Maregart, qui mons est super hostem Boamundi, quod securiat, vt tuti possimus permanere

31 conclusi *ER*      *om.* vero *C*      *om.* edocti *E*      32 de urbe  
*HaR*      nostrosque *HaR*      34 *om.* erant *C*      obviantesque *C*  
 et ad *C*      35 Erant autem *BER*      36 arech *C*      38 misere-  
 que *C*      45-46 super illos *C*      46 *om.* erant *C*      pauci essent *C*  
*om.* tamen *C*      simulque *C*      49 decollati *C*      ut inde magis *C*  
 50 quidam alii *C*      50-51 ascendebant *HaR*      53 unam  
 mulierem occiderent *ER*      *om.* ictu sagittae *ER*

XIII. 3 Margaret *ER*      3-4 *om.* qui mons... Boamundi *codd. R*  
 4 quo securi atque tuti *Ha*      possimus esse a *codd. R*

de Turcorum formidine.' Facto itaque castro atque 5  
 munito, omnes maiores illud invicem custodiebant. Iam-  
 iam cooperant frumentum et omnia nutrimenta cor-  
 porum nimis esse cara ante Natale Domini. Foras  
 penitus non audebamus exire nihilque penitus in terra  
 Christianorum inuenire poteramus ad edendum. In 10  
 Saracenorum namque terra nemo intrare audebat nisi  
 cum magna gente. Ad vltimum statuerunt nostri  
 seniores concilium, ordinando qualiter regerent tantas  
 gentes. Inuenerunt in consilio, vt vna pars nostri iret  
 diligenter attrahere stipendum et vbique custodire 15  
 exercitum; alia quoque pars fiducialiter remaneret  
 custodire hostem. Boamundus denique dixit: 'Seniores  
 et prudentissimi milites, si vultis, et honestum et bonum  
 vobis videtur, ego ero cum Flandrensi comite iturus  
 cum eo.' Celebratis itaque gloriosissime solennitatibus 20  
 Natiuitatis, die lunae, secunda scilicet feria, egressi sunt  
 illi et alii plusquam viginti millia militum et peditum,  
 ac sani et incolumes intrauerunt terram Saracenorum.  
 Congregati quippe erant multi Turci et Arabes et Sar-  
 ceni ab Hierusalem et Damasco et Aleph et ab aliis 25  
 regionibus, qui veniebant fortitudinem Antiochiae dare.  
 Audientes itaque isti Christianorum gentem conductam  
 esse in illorum terram, illico praeparauerunt se ad bellum  
 contra Christianos, atque summo ~~dilactio~~ <sup>ad</sup> venerunt in  
 locum, vbi gens nostra erat in vnum. Diuiseruntque 30  
 se barbari et fecerunt duas acies, vnam ante et aliam  
 retro, cupientes ex omni parte circumcingere nos.  
 Egregius itaque comes Flandrensis, vndique regimine  
 fidei signoque crucis, quam fideliter cotidie baiulabat,  
 armatus, occurrit illis vna cum Boamundo, irruerunt- 35

5 facto igitur C: factum est ergo castrum atque munitum  
 omnesque ER 6-7 iamiamque B 8 nimis nostris ER 11  
 terram B 13 ordinantes C 14 et invenerunt C 16 alia vero  
 C 18 om. et honestum *codd.* R 21 in die Ha om. lunae ER  
 secundo ER

que nostri vnanimiter super illos, qui statim arripuerunt fugam et festinanter verterunt retro scapulas ; ac mortui sunt ex illis plurimi, nostrique coeperunt equos eorum et alia spolia ; alii vero qui viui remanserant, velociter 40 fugerunt et in iram perditionis abierunt. Nos autem reuertentes cum magno tripudio, laudauimus et magnificauius trinum et vnum Deum, qui viuit et regnat nunc et in aeuum. Amen.

1097 **XIIII.** Turci denique, inimici Dei et Christianitatis, qui erant intus in custodia ciuitatis Antiochiae, audientes dominum Boamundum et Flandrensem comitem in obsessione non esse, exierunt ciuitate et audacter venie- 5 bant praeliari nobiscum, insidiantes vndique in qua parte obsidio esset languidior, scientes illos prudentissimos milites foris esse, inuenientque quod in vna Martis die possent obsistere nobis et laedere. Venerunt vero inquisi- simi barbari caute et irruerunt vehementer super nos 10 et incautos occiderunt multos ex nostris militibus et peditibus. Episcopus quoque Podiensis in illa amara die perdidit suum senescalcum, conduceantem et regentem eius vexillum. Et nisi esset flumen, quod inter nos et illos erat, saepius inuasissent nos, atque maximam 15 laesionem fecissent in nostram gentem.

1098 Egre diebatur tunc vir prudens Boamundus cum exercitu suo de terra Saracenorum venitque in Tancredi montaneam, cogitans an forte ibi valeret inuenire aliquid quod potuisset defiri, nam totam terram in expendio miserant ; 20 alii quippe inuenient, alii vero vacui redierant. Tunc vir sapiens Boamundus increpauit eos dicens : ' O infelix

40 aufugerunt C et viam C

**XIIII.** 1 sanctae Christianitatis *CHa* 2 *om.* civitatis *B* 4  
obsidione *C* exibant *C* de civitate *HaR* 6 *om.* illos *BCE*  
8 Venerunt itaque *C* : quoque *ER* 8-9 nequissimi *C* 9  
barbari nocte *CER* *om.* vehementer *C* 11 Episcopus vero *C*  
13 suum vexillum *CHaR* 17-18 cogitans si *C* 19-20 alii  
quidem *C*

et miserrima gens, O vilissima omnium Christianorum ! Cur tam celeriter vultis abire ? Sinite modo, sinite, vsquequo erimus congregati in vnum, et nolite errare sicut oves non habentes pastorem. Si autem inimici 25 nostri inuenerint vos errantes, occident vos, quia die noctuque vigilant, vt vos sine ductore segregatos vel solos inueniant, vosque cotidie occidere et in captiuitatem ducere laborant.' Cumque finis esset dictis, rediit ad suam hostem cum suis plus vacuis quam onustis. 30 Videntes autem Hermenii et Surani quod nostri penitus vacui rediissent, consiliati in vnum abibant per montaneas et praescita loca, subtiliter inquirentes et ementes frumentum et corporea alimenta, quae ad hostem deferebant, in quo erat fames immensa, et vendebant onus 35 vnius asini octo purpuratis, qui appraecabantur centum viginti solidis denariorum. Ibi quidem sunt mortui multi ex nostris, non habentes praecium vnde tam carum emere potuissent.

**XV.** Wilhelmus igitur Carpentarius et Petrus here- 1098 mita pro immensa infelicitate ac miseria ipsa latenter recesserunt. Quos Tancredus persequens apprehendit secumque reduxit cum dedecore, qui dextram et fidem illi dederunt, quia libenter ad hostem redirent et satisfactionem senioribus facerent. Tota denique nocte Wilhelmus vti mala res in tenda Boamundi iacuit. Crastina vero die summo diluculo veniens, erubescendo ante Boamundi praesentiam stetit, quem alloquens Boamundus dixit : 'O infelix et infamia totius Franciae, 10 dedecus et scelus Galliarum ! O nequissime omnium

<sup>24</sup> quousque simus C      <sup>27</sup> nocteque ER      <sup>27-28</sup> sive solos  
 CEHa      <sup>30</sup> suam gentem B      <sup>32</sup> redissent C      <sup>34</sup> et  
 alia corporea C      <sup>35</sup> in qua CHaR      <sup>38</sup> care C

**XV. 2** felicitate E      <sup>3</sup> discesserunt C      <sup>4</sup> et cum  
 dedecore secum adduxit C      quia dextram BER      <sup>5</sup> qui  
 libenter BCER      <sup>6</sup> om. nocte E      <sup>7</sup> tentorio codd. R

quos terra suffert ! Cur tam turpiter fugisti ? Forsitan ob hoc quod voluisti tradere hos milites et hostem Christi, sicut tradidisti alios in Hispania ?' Qui omnino <sup>15</sup> tacuit et nullus sermo ex eius ore processit. Adunaue-runt sese omnes fere Francigenae, rogaueruntque humili-  
liter dominum Boamundum, ne deterius ei fieri per-mitteret. Annuit ille sereno vultu, et ait : ' Hoc pro-  
vestri amore libenter consentiam, si in toto corde et <sup>20</sup> mente iurauerit, quod nunquam recedet ab Hierosoly-  
mitano itinere, siue bono siue malo ; et Tancredus neque per se neque per suos aliquid contrarii ei consentiet fieri.' Qui auditis his verbis voluntarie concessit ; ipse vero protinus dimisit eum. Postmodum vero Carpen-  
<sup>25</sup> tarius, maxima captus turpitudine, non diu morans, furtim recessit. Hanc paupertatem et miseriam pro nostris delictis concessit nos habere Deus. In tota namque hoste non valebat aliquis inuenire mille milites qui equos haberent optimos.

<sup>1098</sup> **XVI.** Interea inimicus Tetigus, audiens quod exercitus Turcorum venissent super nos, ait se timuisse, arbitransque nos omnes perisse, atque in manibus inimicorum incidisse, fingens omnia falsa quae assidue cismare poterat, dixit : ' Seniores et viri prudentissimi, videte quia nos hic sumus in maxima necessitate et ex nulla parte nobis adiutorium succedit. Ecce modo sinite me in Romaniae patriam reuerti, et ego absque vlla dubita-tione faciam multas naues huc venire per mare, onustas

<sup>12</sup> fugiebas *C* <sup>13</sup> quia volebas *C* et gentem *B* <sup>14</sup>  
sicut olim *C* <sup>15</sup> nullusque *C* <sup>17</sup> ei aliquid *C* facere *E*  
<sup>19</sup> si mihi toto corde *CHa* <sup>22</sup> *om.* contrarii *C* consensit *C*  
<sup>24</sup> Boamundus igitur protinus *C* <sup>25-26</sup> moratas (*sic*) laten-  
ter aufugit *C* <sup>27</sup> nobis *C* <sup>29</sup> habuissent *ER* haberent *C*

**XVI. 3** manus *C* <sup>4-5</sup> *om.* quae . . . poterat *BCER* : assi-  
due seminar *HaTud* <sup>5</sup> videtis *C* <sup>6</sup> *om.* hic *E* magna  
necessitate *C* a nulla nobis parte *ER* <sup>7</sup> sed modo *C*  
<sup>8</sup> Romaniam *C*

frumento, vino, hordeo, carne, farina et caseis, omni- 10  
busque bonis, quae sunt nobis necessaria. Faciam et  
equos conduci ad vendendum, et mercatum per terram  
in fidelitate imperatoris huc aduenire faciam. Ecce haec  
omnia vobis fideliter iurabo et attendam. Adhuc quoque  
et domestici mei et papilio meus sunt in campo, vnde 15  
et firmiter credite, quia quantocius redibo.' Sic itaque  
fecit finem dictis. Iuit ille inimicus ; omnia sua dimisit  
in campo, et in periusio manet et manebit. Itaque tali  
modo inerat nobis maxima necessitas, quia Turci vndique  
praestringebant nos, ita vt nullus nostrorum auderet iam 20  
exire extra tentoria, nam illi constringebant nos ex vna  
parte et fames cruciabat ex alia, succursus vero et  
adiutorium nobis deerat. Gens minuta et pauperrima  
fugiebat Cyprum, Romaniam et in montaneas. Ad  
mare vtique non audebamus ire propter timorem pessi- 25  
morum Turcorum, nusquam erat nobis via patefacta.

XVII. Itaque audiens dominus Boamundus innumera- 1098  
bilem gentem Turcorum venientem super nos, caute  
venit ad alios, dicens : 'Seniores et prudentissimi milites,  
quid facturi erimus ? Nos namque tanti non sumus, vt  
in duabus partibus pugnare valeamus. Sed scitis quid 5  
faciemus ? Faciamus ex nobis duas partes. Pars pedi-  
tum remaneat iugiter custodire papiliones et quibit  
nimis obsistere his qui in ciuitate sunt. Alia vero pars  
militum nobiscum veniat obuiam inimicis nostris, qui  
hic hospitati sunt prope nos, in castello Areg, vltra 10  
pontem Farreum.' Sero autem facto, exiit e tentoriis vir  
prudens Boamundus cum aliis prudentissimis militibus,

13 om. faciam *ER* 15 omnis sunt *E* 17 fecerunt  
finem *G* (*Bongars*) Fugit ille *B* et omnia *Ha* 20 per-  
stringebant *BER* : constringebant *CHatud* iam audebat *C*  
25 mare itaque *ER* *om.* utique *C*

XVII. 2 Turcorum gentem venire *C* 4 qui facturi sumus *C*  
8 satis obsistere hiis *C* 10 hospitati se *C* Arech *C* : Areth  
*ER* Ferreum *ER* exivit *C* 11-12 prudens vir *C*

iuitque iacere inter fluum et lacum. Summo diluculo, iussit protinus exploratores exire et videre quot sint 15 Turcorum turmae et vbi sint aut certe quid agant. Exierunt illi coeperuntque subtiliter inquirere vbi es-  
sent acies Turcorum reconditae. Viderunt namque Tur-  
cos innumerabiles segregatos venire ex parte fluminis 20 diuisos per duas acies, maxima vero virtus illorum veniebat retro. Reuersi sunt namque celeriter specula-  
tores, dicentes: 'Ecce, ecce, veniunt. Igitur estote omnes parati, quia iam prope nos sunt.' Dixitque vir 25 sapiens Boamundus aliis: 'Seniores et inuictissimi milites, ordinate adinuicem bellum.' Responderuntque illi: 'Tu sapiens et prudens, tu magnus et magnificus, tu fortis et victor, tu bellorum arbiter et certaminum iudex, hoc totum fac, hoc totum super te sit. Omne bonum quod tibi videtur, nobis et tibi operare et fac.' Tunc Boa-  
mundus iussit, vt principum quisque per se dirigeret 30 aciem suam ordinatim. Feceruntque ita, et ordinatae sunt sex acies. Quinque vero ex eis ierunt adunatim inuadere illos. Boamundus itaque paulatim gradiebatur retro cum sua acie. Iunctis igitur prospere nostris, vnum cominus percutiebat alium. Clamor vero resonabat ad 35 coelum. Omnes praeliabantur in simul. Imbres telorum obnubilabant aerem. Postquam venit maxima virtus illorum quae erat retro, acriter inuasit nostros, ita vt nostri paululum iam cederent retro. Quod vt vidi vir doctissimus Boamundus, ingemuit. Tunc praecepit suo

13 flumen *Ha* Sumo autem *C* 14 *om. protinus C* quot sunt *CHaR* 15 aut ubi *ER* 16 et coeperunt *CHaR* 17 acies eorum *ER* 18 viderunt tandem *CHaR* 19 in duas *C* 20 sunt itaque *C* 20-21 exploratores *C* 21 ecce assunt *C* 22 responderunt *C* 23 unusquisque principum *HaR* militum principum *C* 24 *ordinare C* 25 Quinque ex *C* ierunt ordinatae *C* 26 *Boamundus autem C* 27 alterum *B* 28 *invicem. Ymbres C* 29 postquam vero *C* 30 qui erant *C* 31 tam acriter *C* 32 *om. ita C* 33 paulatim *CE* 34 *om. vir ER* 35

conostabili, scilicet Rotberto filio Girardi, dicens : 'Vade 40  
quam citius potes, vt vir fortis, et recordare prudentium  
antiquorumque nostrorum fortium parentum; et esto  
acer in adiutorium Dei Sanctique Sepulcri. Et reuera  
scias, quia hoc bellum carnale non est, sed spirituale.  
Esto igitur fortissimus athleta Christi. Vade in pace, 45  
Dominus sit tecum vbiique.' Fuit itaque ille vndique  
signo crucis munitus; qualiter leo perpessus famem per  
tres aut quatuor dies, qui exiens a suis cauernis, rugiens  
et sitiens sanguinem pecudum, sic improvide ruit ille 50  
inter agmina gregum, dilanians oues fugientes huc et  
illuc, ita agebat iste inter agmina Turcorum. Tam  
vehementer instabat illis, vt linguae honorabilis vexilli  
volitarent super Turcorum capita. Videntes autem aliae  
acies quod vexillum Boamundi tam honeste esset ante  
alios delatum, illico redierunt retrorsum; nostrique vna- 55  
nimenter inuaserunt Turcos, qui omnes stupefacti, arri-  
puerunt fugam. Nostri itaque persecuti sunt illos et  
detruncauerunt, vsque ad pontem Farreum. Reuersi  
sunt autem Turci festinanter in castrum suum, acce-  
peruntque omnia quae ibi reperire potuerunt, totumque 60  
castrum spoliauerunt, miseruntque ignem et fugerunt.  
Hermenii et Suriani scientes Turcos omnino perdidisse  
bellum, exierunt et excubauerunt per arta loca et occi-  
derunt et apprehenderunt multos ex eis. Superati sunt  
itaque, Deo annuente, in illo die inimici nostri. Satis 65

40 conostabili suo C Geraldi ER : Gyrardi C 41-42  
om. et recordare . . . parentum codd. R 43 om. Dei B  
44 quod hoc B 46 om. undique E 49 ac sitiens Ha aut  
sitiens ER ac siciens C sicut improvide HaR om. ille  
CE 50 om. fugientes E 51 sic agebat C 51-52 tunc  
vehementer B 52 om. honorabilis codd. R 53 om. autem E  
53-54 cetera acies C 54-55 ante illos ER 55 redierunt  
retro C nostri atque C 57 Qui statim C om. et C  
58 detruncantes illos C om. ad C 59 ad castrum C  
60 ibi invenire C ac totum CER 62 Hermenii autem C  
64 om. apprehenderunt ER 65 in illa Ha

vero recuperati sunt nostri de equis et de aliis multis, quae erant illis valde necessaria. Et centum capita mortuorum detulerunt ante portam ciuitatis, vbi legati Ammirati Babyloniae castrametati fuerant, qui mitte-  
 70 bantur senioribus. Illi qui remanserant in tentoriis tota die praelati sunt cum illis qui erant in ciuitate ante tres portas ciuitatis. Factum est hoc bellum in die Martis ante caput ieunii, quinto Idus Februarii, fauente Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu  
 75 S. viuit et regnat Deus per immortalia secula seculorum.  
 Amen.

1098 **XVIII.** Reuersi sunt nostri, agente Deo, triumphantes et gaudentes de triumpho quem in die illo habuerunt deuictis inimicis, qui sunt per omnia superati, semper fugientes, huc et illuc vagantes et errantes, alii in  
 5 Corrozanam, alii vero in Saracenorum introierunt terram. Videntes autem nostri maiores quod male tractarent et constringerent nos inimici nostri, qui erant in ciuitate, die ac nocte inuigilantes et insidiantes qua parte nos laedere possent, congregati in vnum dixerunt :  
 10 'Priusquam perdamus gentem nostram, faciamus castrum ad Machumariam, quae est ante vrbis portam, vbi pons est ; ibique forsitan nostros poterimus constringere inimicos.' Consenserunt omnes et laudauerunt quod bonum esset ad faciendum. Comes de S. Aegidio primus dixit :  
 15 'Estote mihi in adiutorium ad faciendum castrum, et ego muniam et scruabo.' Respondit Boamundus : 'Si vos

66 recuperaverunt *ER* multis rebus *C* 67 neces-  
 serie *C* 68 occisorum *C* 69 admirati *ER* : admiralii  
*C* 70 ad seniores *C* hii autem *C* 72 *om.* civitatis *C*  
 73 V<sup>o</sup> febr. idus *C* regnante *CER* 74 *om.* nostro *ER* patre  
 etc. *C* 75 *om.* Deus *B*

**XVIII.** 2 die illa *C* 3 qui per *C* 5 Corrozanam et *C*  
*om.* vero *CE* 7 *om.* et constringerent *ER* 8 vigilantes *B*  
 11 portam urbis *HaR* *om.* urbis *B* 12 poterimus nostros  
*CHaR* 13 quia bonum *C* 16 muniam et *ER*

vultis et alii seniores laudant, ibo vobiscum ad portum S. Simeonis, diligenter conducere illos qui illic sunt homines, vt peragant hoc opus; alii qui sunt remansuri muniant se vnde ad defendendum, si forte inimici <sup>20</sup> nostri et Dei exierint de ciuitate, et in illo loco sint omnes congregati in vnum, licet vbi nos demonstraremus.' Factumque est ita. Comes igitur et Boamundus perreixerunt ad S. Simeonis portum. Nos vero qui remansimus, congregati in vnum, castrum incipiebamus, <sup>25</sup> dum Turci praeparauerunt se illico et exierunt extra ciuitatem obuiam nobis ad proelium. Sic itaque irruerunt super nos et miserunt nostros in fugam, occideruntque plures ex nostris, vnde tristes valde fuimus. Crastina autem die, videntes Turci quod maiores nostri deessent <sup>30</sup> et quod praeterita die iuissent ad portum, praeparaue- runt se et ierunt obuiam illis venientibus e portu. Tunc videntes comitem et Boamundum venientes et conducentes illam gentem, mox coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare vehementissimo clamore, circumcingendo vndi- <sup>35</sup> que nostros, iaculando, sagittando, vulnerando et crudeli- ter detruncando. Nam tam acriter inuaserunt nostros, vt illi inirent fugam per proximam montaneam et vbi via eundi patebat, qui potuit celeri se gressu expedire, euasit viuus, qui vero fugere nequiuuit, mortem suscepit. <sup>40</sup> Fueruntque in illa die martyrizati ex nostris militibus

<sup>17</sup> om. et alii *ER* <sup>18</sup> con-  
cedere illos *E* <sup>19</sup> peragant opus *E* <sup>20-23</sup> om.  
si forte . . . est ita *codd.* <sup>23</sup> igitur S. Egidii *C* <sup>24</sup> om.  
vero *E*: autem *C* <sup>25-26</sup> incepimus. Turci autem illico pre-  
paraverunt se *C* <sup>26</sup> quum Turci *ER* <sup>27</sup> prelium,  
qui irruentes *C* <sup>28</sup> super nos miserunt nos *C* <sup>31</sup> iissent *C*  
ad portam *G* (*Bongars*) <sup>32</sup> iverunt *B*: exierunt *ER*  
a portu *C* <sup>32-33</sup> et videntes *C* <sup>33</sup> om. venientes  
et *C* <sup>34</sup> striderunt et ceperunt garrire *C* <sup>37</sup> om.  
nam *C* tamque *C* <sup>38</sup> maximam montaneam *Ha*  
<sup>38-39</sup> via fugiendi *C* <sup>39</sup> cursu expedire *C* <sup>41</sup> fuerunt *ER*  
<sup>41-42</sup> om. militibus seu peditibus *ER*

seu peditibus plusquam mille, qui in coelum laetantes  
 ascendebant atque candidati ferentes stolam recepti  
 martyrii, glorificantes et magnificantes Do[n]inum Deum  
 45 nostrum trinum et vnum, in quo feliciter triumphabant,  
 et dicebant concordabili voce : ‘Quare non defendis  
 sanguinem nostrum, qui hodie pro tuo nomine effusus  
 est?’ Itaque Boamundus viam quam tenuerant, non  
 tenuit ; sed celerius cum paucis militibus ad nos venit,  
 50 qui eramus in vnum congregati. Tunc nos accensi occi-  
 sione nostrorum, Christi nomine inuocato, et S. Sepulcri  
 confidentes itinere, iuncti simul peruenimus contra eos  
 ad bellum, eosque inuasimus vno corde et animo.  
 Stabant vero inimici Dei et nostri vndique iam stupe-  
 55 facti et vehementer perterriti, putantes nostros se de-  
 uincere et occidere, sicut fecerant gentem comitis et  
 Boamundi. Sed Deus omnipotens hoc illis non permisit.  
 Milites igitur veri Dei, vndique signo crucis armati,  
 irruerunt acriter super illos et fortiter inuaserunt ; illi  
 60 autem celeriter fugerunt per medium angusti pontis ad  
 illorum introitum. Illi qui viui nequiuierunt transire  
 pontem prae nimia multitudine gentium et caballorum,  
 ibi receperunt sempiternum interitum et reddiderunt  
 infelices animas Diabolo et Sathanae ministris. Nos  
 65 itaque illos superauimus, impellentes in flumen et deii-  
 cientes. Vnda vero rapidi fluminis vndique videbatur  
 fluere rubea Turcorum sanguine. Et si forte aliquis  
 eorum voluisset reptare super pontis columnas, aut

42 mille, qui, ut credimus *HaR* creditur *BC* *om.*  
 in coelum *ER* *om.* laetantes *codd. R* *43-44*  
 ascenderunt et candidati stolam martyrii *recepérunt*  
*codd. R* *44-48* *om.* glorificantes... effusus est *codd. R* *48*  
 Boamundus autem, *om.* itaque *C* tenuerant alii *C* *50-51*  
 pro occisione *C* *52* perreximus *C* : venimus *ER*  
 contra illos *C* *53* eos et *C* *54* Stabant autem *C* *55*  
 putabant tamen se nos *C* *61* Tunc qui *C* *63-64*  
 interitum cum diabolo et angelis eius *codd. R* *67* sanguine  
 orum *C*

natando ad terram moliretur exire, vulneratus est a nostris vndique stantibus super fluminis ripam. Rumor <sup>70</sup> quoque et clamor nostrorum et illorum resonabat ad coelum. Pluuiæ telorum et sagittarum tegebant polum, et claritatem diei; altæ voces intus et extra. Mulieres christianaæ vrbis veniebant ad mūri fenestras, spectantes misera fata Turcorum, et occulte plaudebant manibus, <sup>75</sup> sicut mos erat illarum. Hermenii et Suriani, iussu maiorum Turcorum, inuiti seu spontanei, sagittas iacebant foris ad nos. Mortui sunt etiam in anima et corpore, duodecim Ammiralii de Turcorum agmine in praelio illo, et alii prudentissimorum et fortiorum militum, <sup>80</sup> qui melius ciuitatem pugnando defendebant, numerus quorum fuit mille et quingenti. Alii qui remanserant viui, iam amplius non audebant clamitare vel garrire in die siue in nocte, sicut ante solebant. Omnes itaque nos et illos solummodo separauit nox, noxque diuisit <sup>85</sup> vtrosque in praeliando, iaculando, spiculando, sagittando. Sic superati sunt inimici nostri virtute Dei et S. Sepulcri, et vltierius non valuerunt talem virtutem habere neque in voce neque in opere sicuti prius. Nos itaque valde fuimus refecti in illa die de illorum equis, et de <sup>90</sup> aliis multis rebus, quae satis erant nobis necessariae. Crastina vero die, summo diluculo, exierunt alii Turci de ciuitate et collegerunt omnia cadasera fentia Turcorum mortuorum, quae reperiire potuerunt super ripam fluminis, exceptis illis quae in alueo latebant eiusdem <sup>95</sup> fluminis, et sepelierunt ad Machumariam, quae est

<sup>70</sup> om. super *ER*      <sup>71</sup> om. et clamor *C*      <sup>73</sup> om. altæ ...  
extra *codd.*      <sup>75</sup> misera facta *C*      <sup>76</sup> om. sicut ... illarum  
*codd.*      <sup>78</sup> foris *ER*      <sup>80</sup> fortium *C*      <sup>83</sup> et garrire *C*  
<sup>84</sup> die noctuque *C*: die neque nocte *ER*: nec die nec nocte *B*  
<sup>85</sup> om. nos *ER*      vel illos *HaR*      om. solummodo *ER*  
superavit *HaR*      nox que *C*      <sup>86</sup> utraque agmina *C*      <sup>89</sup>  
sicut prius *C*      <sup>90-91</sup> om. de illorum ... de aliis *codd.* *R*  
<sup>91</sup> necessarie et de equis *codd.* *R*      <sup>95-96</sup> om. exceptis ...  
fluminis *C*

vltra pontem ante portam vrbis, simulque illis con-  
sepelierunt pallia, bizanteos aureos, arcus, sagittas et  
alia plurima instrumenta, quae nominare nequimus.  
100 Audientes itaque nostri quod humassent mortuos suos  
Turci, omnes sese praeparauerunt et venerunt festinantes  
ad diabolicum atrium et iusserunt desepeliri et frangi  
tumbas eorum et trahi eos extra sepulcra. Et eiecerunt  
omnia cadauera eorum in quandam foueam et depor-  
105 tauerunt caesa capita ad tentoria nostra, quatinus per-  
fecte sciretur eorum numerus, excepto quod oneraue-  
rant quatuor equos, qui fuerunt ad mare nuntiis Admirallii  
de Babylone delata. Quod videntes Turci doluerunt  
nimis fueruntque tristes vsque ad necem. Nam cotidie  
110 dolentes, nihil aliud agebant nisi flere et v lulare. Tertia  
vero die coepimus simul iuncti cum gaudio magno  
aedificare castrum supradictum, de lapidibus scilicet,  
quos abstraximus de tumulis Turcorum. Peracto itaque  
castro, mox coepimus ex omni parte coangustare inimicos  
115 nostros, quorum superbia ad nihil iam erat redacta.  
Nos autem secure ambulabamus huc et illuc, ad portam  
et ad montaneas, laudantes et glorificantes Dominum  
Deum nostrum, cui est honor et gloria per omnia secula  
seculorum. Amen.

1098 **XIX.** Iam iam omnes semitae pene prohibitae et  
incisae vndique erant Turcis, nisi ex illa parte fluminis  
vbi erat castrum et quoddam monasterium. Quod  
castrum, si fuisset a nobis perfecte munitum, iam nullus

97-98 cum illis sepelierunt *C* 99 alia plura *C* 100 Audi-  
entes autem *C* 103 extrahi eos de sepulcris *C* iactave-  
runt *C* 104 faucam *B* 105 eorum capita *C* 106 preter  
hoc quod *C* 107-108 nunciis (de nunciis *B*) Admirallii  
(ammirabilii *B* : admirallii *CER*) Babyloniae (babilonie *C*) et  
miserant ad mare *HaR* 110 flebant et eiulabant *C* 111  
vero post *C* 113 extraxeramus *C* facto *ER* igitur *ER*  
116 portum *HaTud*

**XIX. i** Iam iamque *ER*

eorum auderet extra ciuitatis portam exire. Conciliauerunt se denique nostri et vna voce concorditer dixerunt : ' Eligamus vnum ex nobis, qui robuste teneat illud castrum et nostris inimicis prohibeat montaneas et plana et introitum vrbis ac exitum.' Plures vero ex illis prohibentes se illud hospitari, nisi forte fuissent multi in vnum. Tancredus igitur primus protulit se ante alios, dicens : ' Si scirem quid profici mihi attigerit, ego sedule cum meis solummodo hominibus corroborarem castrum, et viam per quam inimici nostri solent frequentius saeuire viriliter deuetabo illis.' Qui continuo spoponderunt ei quater centum marcas argenti. Non adquieuit Tancredus, quamquam solus erat, tamen perrexit cum suis honestissimis militibus ac seruientibus, et extemplo abstulit vndeque viam et semitam Turcis, ita vt nulli auderent ex eis iam timore eius perterriti extra vrbis portam exire, neque propter herbam, neque propter ligna, neque propter vlla necessaria. Remansit vero ibi Tancredus cum suis, coepitque vehementer vbique coangustare ciuitatem. Ipsa quoque die veniebat maxima pars Hermeniorum et Surianorum secure de montaneis, qui ferebant alimenta Turcis in adiutorium ciuitatis. Quibus aduenit obuiam Tancredus et apprehendit eos et omnia quae deferebant, videlicet frumentum, vinum, hordeum, oleum et alia huiusmodi. Sic itaque robuste et prospere deducebat se Tancredus, iamque habebat prohibitas et incisas omnes semitas Turcis, donec Antiochia esset capta. Omnia quae egimus ante-

5-6 consiliaverunt denique se C 9 planas ER om.  
 urbis ER et exitum Har 9-11 om. Plures . . . unum  
 codd. R 12 attingere ER : contingaret C 15 saeuire illis  
 obstruerem C illi C 17 hiis Tancredus C om.  
 quamquam solus erat codd. R sed tamen C 19 vias codd.  
 R om. et semitam codd. R 20 timore illius C 21  
 urbis portas C 22-23 remansit ergo C 24 om. quoque C  
 31 om. omnes CE 32 capta esset C

quam vrbs esset capta nequeo enarrare, quia nemo est in his partibus siue clericus siue laicus qui omnino 35 possit vel scribere vel narrare sicut res gesta est. Tamen aliquantulum dicam.

1098 **XX.** Erat quidam admiratus de genere Turcorum cui nomen Pirus, qui maximam amicitiam receperat cum Boamundo. Hunc saepe Boamundus pulsabat nuntiis adinuicem missis, quo eum infra ciuitatem amicissime 5 reciperet, eique christianitatem liberius promittebat et eum se diuitem facturum cum multo honore mandabat. Consensit ille dictis et promissionibus dicens: 'Tres turres custodio, eique libenter ipsas promitto, et quacunque hora voluerit, in eas eum recolligam.' Erat itaque 10 Boamundus iam securus de introitu ciuitatis, et gauisus serenaque mente, placido vultu venit ad omnes seniores, eisque iocunda verba intulit, dicens: 'Viri prudentissimi milites, videte quomodo nos omnes in nimia paupertate et miseria sumus, maiores siue minores, et ignoramus 15 penitus, qua parte melius succedat nobis. Igitur si vobis bonum et honestum videtur, eligat se ante alias vnuis ex nobis, vt si aliquo modo vel ingenio ciuitatem acquirere vel ingeniare potuerit, per se vel per alias, concordi voce ei vrbem dono concedamus.' Qui omnino prohibuerunt 20 et denegarunt, dicentes: 'Nemini dimittetur haec ciuitas, sed omnes aequaliter habebimus illam; sicut aequalem habuimus laborem, sic inde aequalem habeamus honorem.' Itaque Boamundus, auditis his verbis, paulominus subridens, protinus recessit. Non multo post audiuimus

33 enarrare nequeo *ER* 34 hiis *C* 35 geste sunt *C*

**XX.** 1 admiratus *ER* : admiralius *C* 3 hunc etenim *ER*  
 4 quod eum *C* in ciuitate *C* : infra in *ER* 8 *om.* ipsas  
*ER* 8-9 Quod in quacunque hora *ER* 11 et placido *ER*  
 13 *om.* milites *C* videtis quomodo *C* *om.* nos *E* 14 et  
 minores *C* 15 si bonum *C* 17 et si *HaR* : ex nobis qui *C*  
 18 per se et *ER* 18-19 voce urbem *ER* 19 *om.* dono *CER*  
 20 denegaverunt *HaR* 21 habitabimus *C* eam *ER*

nuncios de exercitu hostium nostrorum, Turcorum,<sup>25</sup> Publicanorum, Angulanorum, Azimitarum et aliarum plurimarum nationum gentilium, quas numerare neque nominare nescio. Statimque adunauerunt se omnes maiores nostri simul, tenueruntque concilium dicentes: 'Quoniam si Boamundus potuerit adquirere ciuitatem aut <sup>30</sup> per se aut per alios, nos vna libenti corde vltro ei donamus, eo tenore, vt si imperator venerit nobis in adiutorium et omnem conuentiōnem sicut promisit nobis et iurauit attendere voluerit, nos ei eam iure reddemus. Sin autem, Boamundus eam in suam habeat potestatem.' Mox <sup>35</sup> itaque Boamundus coepit humiliter amicum suum quotidiana deprecari petitione, promittendo humillima, maxima et dulcia, in hunc modum: 'Ecce vere tempus modo habemus idoneum, in quo possumus operari quicquid boni volumus; ergo adiuuet me nunc amicus meus <sup>40</sup> Pirrus.' Qui satis gauisus de nuntio, ait se illum adiuuare omnino sicut agere deberet. Nocte itaque veniente proxima, misit caute filium suum pignus. Boamundo, vt securior fieret de introitu vrbis. Misit quoque ei verba in hunc modum, vt in crastinum omnem Fran-<sup>45</sup> corum gentem praeconiare atque summouere faciat, quod in Saracenorum terram depraedare vadat dissimulans ac deinde celeriter reuertatur per dextram montaneam. 'Ego vero', ait, 'ero intentione erecta praeestolans illa agmina, eaque recipiam in turres quas in <sup>50</sup> mea habeo potestate ac custodia.' Dein Boamundus

<sup>25</sup> adventu exercitus *C* nostrorum scilicet *C* <sup>26</sup> Agulano-  
rum *B* *om.* Angulanorum *CER* Azimitarum *G* (*Bongars*)  
<sup>27-28</sup> *om.* gentilium . . . nescio *BC* <sup>28</sup> nos omnes *C* <sup>33</sup>  
promisit nobis *ER* <sup>34</sup> ei illam *C* <sup>35</sup> sua habeat potestate *C*  
<sup>43</sup> filium suum pirrus *C*: pyrrus *ER* <sup>44</sup> misitque *B*  
illi *C* <sup>45</sup> crastino *C* <sup>45-46</sup> Francorum exercitum *C* <sup>46</sup>  
*om.* praeconiare atque *codd.* *R* summoveri *CER*: sumoneri  
*B* faceret *C*: *om.* faciat *ER* <sup>47</sup> et quasi *codd.* *R* *om.*  
in *CER* depraedari *codd.* *R* <sup>47-48</sup> dissimulet *BER*:  
similet *C* <sup>51</sup> Deinde *B*: denique *C*

iussit celeriter ad se vocari quandam seruientem suum,  
 videlicet Malam coronam, eique praecepit, vt quasi  
 praeco commoneret Francorum maximam gentem,  
 55 quatinus fideliter praepararet se in Saracenorum itura  
 terram. Factumque est ita. Credidit itaque Boamundus  
 hoc consilium duci Godefrido et Flandrensi comiti,  
 comiti quoque de S. Aegidio atque Podiensi episcopo,  
 dicens : 'Quia Dei fauente gratia, hac nocte tradetur nobis  
 60 Antiochia.' Ordinata sunt denique haec omnia ; milites  
 tenuerunt plana, et pedites montaneam. Tota nocte  
 equitauerunt et ambulauerunt vsque prope auroram, ac  
 deinceps ceperunt appropinquare ad turres quas ille vigil  
 custodiebat. Confestim ascendit Boamundus et praec-  
 65 cepit omnibus, dicens : 'Ite securo animo et felici con-  
 cordia, et ascendite per scalas in Antiochiam, quam  
 statim habebimus, si Deo placet, in nostra custodia.'  
 Venerunt illi vsque ad scalam, quae iam erat erecta et  
 fortiter ligata ad ciuitatis merulas, et ascenderunt per  
 70 illam homines fere sexaginta ex nostris, ac diuisi sunt per  
 turres quas ille obseruabat. Videns hoc Pirrus quod tam  
 pauci ascendissent ex nostris, cepit pauere, timens sibi et  
 nostris, ne in manus Turcorum inciderent, dixit : 'Micro  
 Francos echome' : hoc est : "paucos Francos habe-  
 75 mus." Vbi est acerrimus Boamundus ? vbi est ille miles  
 inuictus ?' Interim descendit quidam seruiens Longo-  
 bardus deorsum et cucurrit quantocius ad Boamundum,  
 dicens : 'Quid hic stas, vir prudens ? Quam ob rem huc  
 venisti ? Ecce nos iam tres turres habemus.' Motus est  
 80 ille cum aliis, et omnes gaudentes peruererunt ad scalam.

55 prepararet se ut eat *C* ituram *ER* : *om.* itura *C* 61  
 planam *CER* 62 *om.* et ambulaverunt *C* 63 pervigil  
*CER* 64 descendit *HaR* 66 per scalam *HaR* 67  
 vestra *G* (*Bongars*) 69 menia *BER* : menia civitatis *C*  
 71 quas ille custodiebat *CER* 73 dixitque *HaR* : et  
 dixit *C* 75 *om.* miles *codd. R* 78 hic agis *CER* 79 *om.*  
 tres *E*

Videntes itaque illi qui iam erant in turribus, coeperunt iocunda voce clamare, 'Deus le volt !' Nos vero idem clamabamus. Nunc coeperunt illico mirabiliter ascendere ; ascenderunt tamen, et cucurrerunt festinanter in alias tress. Quos illic inueniebant, mortalem eis continuo 85 dabant sententiam ; fratrem quoque Pirri occiderunt. Interea forte erupta est scala, per quam noster erat ascensus ; vnde inter nos orta est immensa angustia et tristitia. Quanquam autem scala fuisse fracta, tamen quaedam erat porta iuxta nos clausa in sinistra parte, 90 quae quibusdam manebat incognita ; nox namque erat, sed tamen palpando et inquirendo inuenimus eam, omnesque cucurrimus ad illam, et, ipsa fracta, intrauimus per eam. Tunc innumerabilis fragor mirabiliter resonabat per totam vrbem. Non adquieuit Boamundus his, sed 95 illico imperauit honorabile vexillum deferri sursum coram castello, in quodam monte ; omnes vero pariter stridabant in ciuitate. Summo autem diluculo, audientes illi qui foris erant in tentoriis vehementissimum rumorem strepere per ciuitatem, exierunt festinantes et viderunt 100 vexillum Boamundi sursum in monte, celerique cursu properantes, venerunt omnes et per portas intrauerunt in vrbem, et interfecerunt Turcos et Saracenos quos ibi repererunt, extra illos qui fugerant sursum in castrum. Alii vero Turcorum per portas exierunt et fugientes 105 viui euaserunt. Cassianus vero, dominus illorum, timens valde gentem Francorum, dedit se omnino fugae, cum aliis multis qui erant cum eo, et fugiendo peruenit in Tancredi terram non longe a ciuitate. Fatigati vero

81 itaque hii C: itaque quia iam E 82 Deus vult  
 codd. R nos quoque C 83 acclamavimus C  
 tunc coeperunt C 85 morti tradebant codd. R 87  
 fracta C 88 maxima orta est angustia atque C  
 93 ad eam C 93-94 per illam ER 95 acquievit  
 ... hii C 100 videre C 104 reperierunt C 105  
 fugerunt C 106 Cassianus quoque C 107 omnimodo HaR

110 erant equi eorum, miseruntque se in quoddam casale et mersi sunt in vnam domum. Cognouerunt ergo eum habitatores illius montaneac, scilicet Suriani et Hermenii, et confestim apprehenderunt eum, truncaueruntque caput illius, et tulerunt ante Boamundi 115 praesentiam, vt inde mererentur libertatem accipere. Balteum quoque eius et vaginam appraeciauerunt sexaginta bizanteis. Haec omnia gesta sunt tertia die intrante mense Iunio, quinta feria, tertia nonas Iunii. Omnes namque plateae ciuitatis iam vndique erant plenae 120 cadaueribus mortuorum, ita vt nemo posset sufferre ibi esse, prae nimiis foetoribus; nullus vero poterat ire per semitam ciuitatis, nisi super cadauera Turcorum.

1098 **XXI.** Curbaram autem, princeps militiae Soldani Persiae, dum adhuc esset Corrozanum, quotiens Cassianus Ammiralius Antiochiae legationem ei misit, quo sibi succurreret in tempore opportuno, quoniam gens fortissima Francorum eum impeditum grauiter obsidebat in Antiochia; et si adiutorium ei impenderet, vrbem Antiochenam illi traderet, aut eum maximo munere ditaret; cumque iam habuisset maximum exercitum Turcorum, ex longo collectum tempore, et licentiam 5 Christanos occidendi accepisset a Calipa illorum Apostolico, ilico incoauit iter longae viae Antiochiae. Hierosolymitanus Ammiralius in adiutorium cum suo exercitu venit. Rex Damasci illuc venit cum maxima gente. Idem vero Curbaram congregauit innumeratas gentes 10 paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabes, Saracenos, Publius 15

110 quamdam *B* 114 capud eius *C* 117 bizanciis *B*: bisanteis *ER*: argenteis seu byzanteis *C* om. tertia die *CER*  
118 tertio *C* 120 mortuorum *HaR* om. sufferre *CER*

**XXI.** 1 om. autem *HaR* 1-2 Regis persie *C* 2 om. quotiens *C* 2-3 quantocius misit ad eum legationem *C* 7-8 om. aut . . . ditaret *B* 8 idem Curbaran maximum *C* 11 inchoavit *Ha* ad Antiochiam *C*

canos, Azimitas, Curtos, Perses, Agulanos et alias multas gentes innumerabiles. Et Agulani fuerunt numero tria millia, qui neque lanceas, neque sagittas, neque vlla arma timebant, quia omnes erant vndique cooperti ferro, et equi eorum ; ipsique noblebant in bellum ferre <sup>20</sup> arma, nisi solummodo gladios. Isti omnes venerunt in obsidionem Antiochiae ad dispergendum Francorum collegium. Et cum appropinquassent vrbi, venit obuiam illis Sensadolus, filius Cassiani Ammiralii Antiochiae, et continuo cucurrit ad Curbaram lacrymabiliter rogans <sup>25</sup> eum dicens : 'Inuictissime Princeps, te supplex praecor, quatinus modo mihi succurras ; quoniam Franci vndique obsident me in Antiocheno oppido, vrbemque in suo tenent imperio, nosque alienare a regione Romaniae siue Cyriae, adhuc autem et Corrozani, capiunt. Omnia <sup>30</sup> patrauere quae voluerunt, patrem occiderunt meum ; nihil aliud superest, nisi vt me et te et omnes alias ex genere nostro interficiant. Ego namque iam dudum tuum exspecto auxilium, vt mihi succurras in hoc periculo.' Cui ait ille : 'Si vis vt ex toto corde in tuo sim <sup>35</sup> proficuo, tibique fideliter in hoc succurram periculo, illud oppidum in meam trades manum, et tum videbis qualiter in tuo ero proficuo, idque faciam custodire meos homines.' Ait illi Sensadolus : 'Si potes omnes Francos occidere, mihique capita eorum tradere, tibi dabo <sup>40</sup> oppidum, tibique faciam hominium et in tua fidelitate custodiam illud oppidum.' Cui Curbaram : 'Non ita', inquit, 'erit, sed continuo in meam manum committe

16 Persas *HaR* 19 quoniam *C* 23 appropinquarent  
*C* 26 et dicens *HaR* 29-30 Romana sive Syriaca *ER*  
30 Syriæ *Ha* necnon etiam *et C* : aut *et ER* 31  
occidere *B* : patrem meum occiderunt *ER* 32 nichil iam *C*  
alias *C* 35 periculo et proficuo *C* 36 *om.* tibique...  
periculo *C* 37 trade *HaRTud* tunc videbis *HaTud* 38-39  
custodiri a meis hominibus *C* : meis hominibus *HaR* 43  
inquit *C* continue *C*

castrum.' Tamen volens nolensque ei commisit castrum.  
 45 Tertia vero die postquam intrauimus ciuitatem, eorum  
 praecursores ante vrbum praecurrerunt; exercitus autem  
 illorum ante pontem Farreum castrametatus est; et  
 expugnauerunt turrim, et occiderunt omnes quos illic  
 inuenerunt, et nemo euasit viuus nisi dominus illorum,  
 50 quem inuenimus ligatum in vinculis ferreis, facto maiore  
 bello. Crastina vero die, moto exercitu paganorum,  
 appropinquauerunt vrbi, et castrametati sunt inter duo  
 flumina, steteruntque ibi per duos dies. Recepto itaque  
 castro, Curbaram conuocauit vnum ammiralium ex suis,  
 55 quem sciebat veracem, mitem, et pacificum, et ait illi:  
 'Volo vt intres in fidelitatem meam custodire hoc  
 castrum, quoniam ex longissimo tempore scio te fidelis-  
 simum, ideoque precor te vt summa cautela hoc serues  
 oppidum, adhuc namque quod scio te in opere prudentis-  
 60 simum, nullum magis veracem et fortissimum hic modo  
 reperiire possum.' Cui ait Ammiralius: 'Tibi vnuquam de  
 tali nollem obedire officio: sed priusquam me tuo  
 arguas stimulo, hoc faciam illo tenore, vt si Franci  
 eiecerint vos de mortali praelio, et vicerint, eis con-  
 65 tinuo tradam hoc castrum.' Dixitque illi Curbaram:  
 'Tam honestum et prudentem te cognosco, vt omne quic-  
 quid boni vis agere, ego consentiam.' Reuersus est ita-  
 que Curbaram ad suum exercitum, et protinus Turci,  
 deludentes Francorum collegium, detulerunt ante con-

44 Tandem volens *Ha* sive nolens *BC* commisit ille  
*HaER* 45 *om.* ciuitatem *ER* 46 ante ciuitatem *ER*  
 precucurrerunt *C* 47 ad pontem *Ha*: ad Pontem Ferreum  
*ER* 49 *om.* vivus *ER* 50 *om.* in *C* 51 pagani *C*  
 52 ad urbem *C* 53 Recepto autem *C* 54 corbaran *C*  
 57 longo *C* 58 istud mihi serves *C* 59 oppidulum *B* 59-61  
*om.* adhuc... possum *codd. R* 62 nollem (vellem *C*) de tali  
*CER* obedire servicio *B*: re obedire *C*: officio obedire *ER* sed  
 tunc *B*: sed tamen *C* 62-63 *om.* priusquam... stimulo *codd.*  
*R* 63 eo tenore *CER* 64 nos *C* 68 *om.* Turci *CE*  
 69 deridentes *C*

spectrum Curbaram quendam vilissimum ensem rubigine 70  
 tectum et deterrium arcum ligneum et lanceam nimis  
 inutilem quae abstulerant nuper pauperibus peregrinis,  
 dixeruntque: 'Ecce arma quae attulerunt Franci obuiam  
 nobis ad pugnam!' Tunc Curbaram coepit subridere  
 palam, dicens omnibus qui in illo aderant collegio: 'Haec 75  
 sunt arma bellica et nitida quae attulerunt Christiani  
 supernos in Asiam, quibus putant nos et confidunt expel-  
 lere vltra confinia Corrozaniae, et delere nomina nostra  
 vltra Amazonia flumina, qui propulerunt omnes parentes  
 nostros a Romania et Antiochia vrbe regia, quae est 80  
 honorabile caput totius Syriae.' Mox conuocauit suum  
 fidelem notarium, et ait: 'Scribe cito plures chartas,  
 quae in Corrozania sint legenda, videlicet: Caliphae  
 nostro Apostolico, ac nostro regi domino Soldano, mili-  
 fortissimo, atque omnibus prudentissimis Corrozaniae 85  
 militibus, salus et immensus honor. Satis sint laeti et  
 gauisi iocunda concordia et satisfacient ventribus, im-  
 perent et sermocinent per vniuersam regionem illam, vt  
 omnino dent sese ad petulantiam et luxuriam, multosque  
 filios patrare congaudeant, qui contra Christianos fortiter 90  
 pugnare praeualeant, et libenter suscipiant haec tria  
 arma quae olim abstulimus a Francorum turma, et  
 discant modo quae arma attulerit super nos gens  
 Francigena, qualiter optima et perfecta sunt, heu! certare  
 contra nostra arma, quae bis aut ter, siue quater sunt 95  
 colata, aut purgata ceu argentum aut aurum purissimum.

70 unum vilissimum *ER*: quemdam vilissimum *Tud* 71 teter-  
 rimum *HaTud* (*codd. ACD*) 73-74 contra nos *C* 74  
*Curbara G (Bongars)* 75 *om. qui...* collegio *codd. R* heccine  
*C* 76 nos Christiani *CER* 78 *om. delere ER* omnia  
*codd. R* 79 sicut propulerunt *C* 81 capud tocius sirie *C*  
 82 *om. fidelem HaR* 85 prudentibus *C* 89 et ad  
 luxuriam *Ha*: ad luxuriam (*om. et*) *ER* 90 *om. fortiter B*  
 92 attulimus *B* 93 modo qualia *C* arma attulerant *B*: attulit  
 94-96 *om. qualiter* . purissimum *codd. R* 94 certate *G*  
*(Bongars)* 96 colorata *G* seu *G*

Adhuc quoque sciant omnes, quoniam ego cunctos Francos intus in Antiochia conclusos habeo et castrum mea libera teneo voluntate, illi vero deorsum sunt in ciuitate ; habeo etiam omnes illos iam in mea manu, eosque faciam aut capitalem subire sententiam aut deduci in Corrozanam in captiuitatem nimiam, eo quod minantur nos suis armis propulsare et expellere ab omnibus finibus nostris aut eiicere ultra superiorem Indiam, 105 ceu eiecerunt omnes parentes nostros a Romania siue Syria. Amodo iuro vobis per Machomet et per omnia Deorum nomina quoniam ante vestram non ero reditus praesentiam, donec regalem vrbem Antiochiam, et omnem Suriam siue Romaniam atque Bulgariam 110 usque in Apuliam adquisiero, mea forti dextera, ad deorum honorem et vestrum et omnium qui sunt ex genere Turcorum.' Sic fecit finem dictis.

1098 **XXII.** Mater vero eiusdem Curbaram, quae erat in Aleph ciuitate, statim venit ad eum, dixitque illi lacrymabiliter : ' Fili, suntne vera, quae audio ? ' Cui ait ille : ' Quae ? ' Et dixit illa : ' Audiui quia bellum vis committere cum Francorum gente.' Ait ille : ' Hoc verum omnino scias.' Dixit illa : ' Contestor te, fili, per omnium Deorum nomina et per tuam magnam bonitatem, ne bellum cum Francis committas, quoniam tu es miles inuictus, et nullam imprudentiam ex te aut ex tuo exercitu vñquam 10 penitus audiui, et te e campo ab aliquo victore fugientem quisquam minime inuenit. Diffamata est tua militia vbiique, omnesque prudentes milites, audito tuo

98-99 castrum in mea *HaR* 100 *om.* iam *ER* 101 *om.*  
 aut *ER* 102 *om.* minantur *C* 104 *om.* aut eiicere  
 . . . Indiam (Iudeam) *BCE* superiorem Iudeam *G(Bon-*  
*gars)R* 105 seu *G (Bongars)* sicut *C* 107 numina *CE*  
**XXII.** 2 denuо venit *codd. R* 4 *om.* dixit *C* 5 At ille  
*codd. R* : ille respondit *C* 7 *om.* Hoc *HaR* 7 numina *CE*  
 8-10 *om.* et nullam . . . audivi *codd. R*

nomine, contremiscunt. Satis scimus, fili, quoniam tu es bellipotens et fortis, et bellorum ingeniosus, nullaque gens Christianorum vel paganorum ante tuum <sup>15</sup> spectum aliquam virtutem habere potuit; sed fugiebant solummodo auditio tuo nomine, sicut oves ante leonis furorem fugiunt. Ideoque obsecro te, charissime fili, ut meis acquiescas consiliis et ne vnuquam in tuo haesitet animo aut in tuo inueniatur consilio, ut bellum <sup>20</sup> velis incipere cum Christianorum gente.' Tunc Curbaram, materna audiens monita, feroci respondit sermone: 'Quid est hoc, mater, quod mihi refers? Puto quod insanis, aut furiis es plena. Enimuero mecum habeo plures ammirarios, quam Christiani sint, siue maiores siue minores.' <sup>25</sup> Respondit ei mater sua: 'O dulcissime fili, Christiani nequeunt vobiscum bellare; scio namque quod non valent vobis pugnam inferre, sed Deus eorum pro ipsis cotidie pugnat, eosque diu noctuque sua protectione defendit et vigilat super eos, sicut pastor vigilat super <sup>30</sup> gregem suum, et non permittit eos laedi nec perturbari ab vila gente, et quicunque volunt eis obsistere, idem eorum Deus conturbat illos, sicut ait ipse per os Dauid Prophetae: "Dissipa gentes quae bella volunt", et alibi: "Effunde iram tuam in gentes quae te non nouerunt, et <sup>35</sup> in regna quae nomen tuum non inuocauerunt." Antequam vero praeparati sint ad incipiendum bellum, eorum Deus optimus et bellipotens, simul cum sanctis suis omnes inimicos iam habet deuictos; quanto magis modo

<sup>13</sup> contremescunt *C* namque scimus *Ha* om. fili *C* <sup>14</sup>  
*om. et bellorum ingeniosus BCE* <sup>18</sup> carissime *HaR*: o carissime  
*B* <sup>20</sup> hesites, haesites *ER*: hereat *C* <sup>21</sup> Christiana gente  
*HaR* <sup>23</sup> que sunt hoc *C* que mihi *C* <sup>23-24</sup> insanis et  
*C* <sup>25</sup> Christiani sunt *CER* <sup>28</sup> valent nobis *HaR* <sup>29</sup>  
*om. cotidie C* die *B*: de noctu ac die *C* <sup>31</sup> laedi vel *CER*  
conturbari *HaTud* <sup>32</sup> obstare *Ha* <sup>32-33</sup> idem  
illorum *C* <sup>37</sup> praeparate *E*: parentur *C* <sup>38</sup>  
omnipotens *HaTud* <sup>39</sup> inimicos illorum *C* <sup>om.</sup> iam *ER*  
*om. modo ER*

40 faciet circa vos qui eius estis inimici, et qui praeparasti  
 vos eis obsistere tota virtute ? Hoc autem, karissime, in  
 rei veritate scias, quoniam isti Christiani “filii Christi”  
 vocati sunt, et prophetarum ore “filii adoptionis et pro-  
 missionis”, et secundum Apostolum, “haeredes Christi”  
 45 sunt, quibus Christus haereditates repromissas iam  
 donauit, dicendo per prophetas : “A Solis ortu usque ad  
 occasum erunt termini vestri, et nemo stabit contra vos.”  
 Et quis potest his dictis contradicere, vel obstare ? Certe  
 si hoc bellum contra illos inceperis, maximum tibi erit  
 50 damnum ac dedecus, et multos tuos fideles milites perdes,  
 et universa spolia, quae apud te habes, amittes, et nimio  
 pauore fugiendo euerteris. Tu autem in hoc bello non  
 morieris modo, sed tamen in hoc anno, quoniam ipse  
 Deus non statim vindicat offendentem se exerta ira, sed  
 55 quando vult punit eum manifesta vindicta, ideoque  
 timeo ne te iudicet poenali tristitia. Non morieris, in-  
 quam, modo, verumtamen perditurus es in praesentiarum  
 habita.’ Curbaram denique valde dolens intimis visceri-  
 bus, auditis maternis sermonibus, respondit : ‘Mater  
 60 karissima, quae te, quis dixit tibi ista de gente Chris-  
 tiana, quod Deus eorum tantum eos amet, et quod ipse  
 pugnandi virtutem in se retinet maximam, et quod illi  
 Christiani vincent nos in Antiocheno praelio, et quod  
 ipsi capturi sunt nostra spolia, nosque persecuturi magna  
 65 victoria, et quod in hoc anno moriturus sum morte  
 subitanea ?’ Tunc respondit ei mater, dolens : ‘Fili  
 karissime, ecce sunt plusquam centum annorum tempora,  
 de quibus inuentum est in nostra pagina et in gentilium

41 carissime *HaR*      42 filii dei *C*      43 ora *C*      47 om.  
 erunt *C*      47-48 qui potest *HaR*      48 hiis *C*      obsistere *CER*  
 49 contra eos *HaR*      illa *C*      53 tantum *ER*      54 iudicat  
*HaR*      sed exerta ira quem *ER*      55 punit cum *HaR*      57  
 in presenti *B*      60 carissima *HaR*      tibi talia *CER*      62  
 retineat *C*      63 Antiochena prelia *B*      66 mater sua *HaR*  
 67 carissime *HaR*

voluminibus, quoniam gens Christiana foret super nos ventura et nos vbique victura ac super paganos regnatura, et nostra gens illis vbique erit subdita. Sed ignoro, vtrum modo an in futuro sint haec ventura. Ego vtique misera sum te secuta ab Aleph, vrbe pulcherrima, in qua speculando atque ingeniose rimando respexi in coelorum astra et sagaciter scrutata sum planetas et 75 duodecim signa siue sortes innumeratas ; in eis omnibus reperi, quoniam gens Christiana vbique nos est deuictura, ideoque de te valde timeo, nimis moesta, ne ex te remaneam orbata.' Dixit illi Curbaram : 'Mater karissima, dic mihi omnia quae in corde meo sunt incredula.' 80 Quae respondens ait : 'Hoc, karissime, libenter faciam, si sciero ea quae tibi sunt incognita.' Cui ille dixit : 'Non sunt igitur Boamundus et Tancredus Francorum dii, et non eos liberant de inimicis suis, et quod ipsi manducant in vno quoque prandio duo millia vaccas et qua- 85 tuor millia porcos ?' Respondit mater : 'Fili karissime, Boamundus et Tancredus mortales sunt, sicut alii omnes ; sed Deus eorum valde diligit eos p[re]ae omnibus aliis et virtutem p[re]aeliandi dat eis p[re]ae caeteris. Nam Deus illorum, omnipotens est nomen eius, qui fecit coelum et 90 terram et fundauit maria et omnia quae in eis sunt, cuius sedes in coelo est parata in aeternum, cuius potestas vbique est metuenda.' Ait filius : 'Si ita est causa, cum eis p[re]aeliarinon desinam.' Itaque audiens mater eius quod nullo modo adquiesceret consiliis suis, moestissima 95

69 quod gens BC super nos foret HaR : esset C 70 undique nos C om. et nos ubique victura B 72 eventura HaR sunt hec hec (sic) eventura C 73 itaque misera ER Alech E civitate C pulcherrima HaR 74 ingenio servando ER 77 repperi HaTud (codd. BE) quod gens C nos ubique HaR undique C 78 timeo valde HaR 79 carissima HaR 81 om. respondens codd. R carissime HaR 82 sunt incredula ER 84 non ipsi HaR 86 carissime HaR 90 omnipotens nomen CE : est omnipotens B 92 om. in coelo C om. est BC 95 acquiesceret C Ha om. suis C

recessit retrorsum in Aleph, deferens secum cuncta spolia quae conducere potuit.

1098 **XXIII.** Tertia vero die armauit se Curbaram et maxima pars Turcorum cum eo, veneruntque ad ciuitatem ex illa parte in qua erat castrum. Nos autem putantes resistere posse illis, parauimus bellum contra eos. Sed tam magna fuit virtus illorum, quod nequiuimus illis resistere; sicque coacti intrauimus ciuitatem; quibus fuit tam mirabiliter arta et angusta porta, vt illinc fuerint multi mortui oppressione aliorum. Interea alii pugnabant extra vrbum, alii intus, in quinta feria, per totum diem vsque ad vesperam. Inter haec Wilhelmus de Grentemaisnil et Albericus frater eius, et Wido Trursellus, et Lambertus Pauper, isti omnes timore perterriti de hesterno bello, quod durauerat vsque ad vesperam, nocte latenter demissi sunt per murum, fugientes pedibus contra mare, ita vt neque in manibus neque in pedibus remaneret aliquid nisi solummodo ossa. Multique alii fugerunt cum illis, quos nescio. Venientes igitur ad naues quae erant ad portum S. Symeonis, dixerunt nautis: 'Quid hic, miseri, statis? Omnes nostri mortui sunt, et nos mortem vix euasimus, quia exercitus Turcorum vndique obsident alios in vrbe.' At illi audientes talia stabant stupefacti, ac timore perterriti cucurrerunt ad naues et miserunt se in mare. Deinde superuenientes Turci, quos inuenerunt, occiderunt, et naues quae in alueo fluminis

**XXIII.** 1 die post C 4 nos ad bellum C contra illos C  
 5 om. virtus E illic resistere C 6 in ciuitatem *codd.* R  
 7 angusta fuit E ut illic *HaR* 10 Grentamenilg  
*G (Bongars): Grentemaisnolo C: Grentamasnil Ha* 11  
*Albericus HaR Trossellus ER: Trussellus et Wilhelmus de*  
*Sichys C 12 pro hesterno C 13 duravit C 14 sunt*  
*fune C 15 in pedibus eorum CER 16 Multi etiam C*  
*16-17 om. cum illis C 17 quos ignoro CER 23 in*  
*mare E Post verba miserunt se om. E omnia quae sequuntur*  
*usque ad c. XXIX Ipsa hora venit vir denique super-*  
*uenientes B*

remanserant, combusserunt igni, et apprehenderunt <sup>25</sup> spolia eorum. Nos denique qui remansimus, nequiuimus sufferre pondus armorum illorum; fecimusque murum inter nos et illos, quem custodiebamus diu noctuque. Interea tanta oppressione fuimus oppressi, vt equos et asinos nostros manducaremus. <sup>30</sup>

**XXIIII.** Quodam vero die stantibus nostris maioribus, <sup>1098</sup> sursum ante castellum tristibus ac dolentibus, venit quidam sacerdos ad eos, et dixit: 'Seniores, si vobis placet, audite rem quandam, quam in visione vidi. Cum nocte vna iacerem in ecclesia S. Mariae matris <sup>5</sup> Domini nostri Iesu Christi, apparuit mihi Saluator mundi cum sua genitrice et B. Petro apostolorum principe, stetitque ante me et dixit mihi: "Agnoscis me?" Cui respondi: "Non;" His dictis, ecce apparuit integra crux in capite eius. Iterum ergo interrogavit me Dominus, <sup>10</sup> dicens: "Agnoscis me?" Cui dixi: "Te alio modo non agnosco, nisi quia crucem in capite tui cerno, sicut Salvatoris nostri:" Qui dixit: "Ego sum." Statim cecidi ad pedes eius, rogans humiliter, vt subueniret nobis in oppressione illa quae super nos erat. Respondit Dominus: <sup>15</sup> "Bene adiuui vos, et amodo adiuuabo. Ego permisi vos habere Niceam ciuitatem et omnia deuincere bella, et conduxi vos huc usque, et condolui vestrae miseriae quam passi fuistis in obsidione Antiochiae. Ecce in auxilio oportuno misi vos sanos et incolumes in ciuitatem; et <sup>20</sup> ecce, multam prauam dilectionem operantes cum Christianis et prauis paganis mulieribus, vnde immensus foetor ascendit in coelum." Tunc alma Virgo

<sup>25</sup> igne C <sup>26</sup> in urbe remanseramus C <sup>27</sup> om. sufferre C <sup>27-28</sup> murum ante nos C <sup>28</sup> die BC <sup>29</sup> tanta necessitate C

**XXIIII. 1** Quadam vero C <sup>2</sup> ante BC <sup>3</sup> illos C  
<sup>9</sup> Hiis dictis C <sup>om.</sup> ecce B <sup>11</sup> Agnoscis? C  
 alimodo C <sup>12</sup> capite tuo C <sup>15</sup> om. illa C <sup>20</sup> oppor-  
 tuno Ha <sup>21</sup> pravamque C <sup>operati estis C</sup>

et B. Petrus ceciderunt ad pedes eius, rogantes eum et  
 25 deprecantes, vt suum in hac tribulazione adiuuaret  
 populum. Dixitque B. Petrus: "Domine, per tot tempora  
 tenuit paganorum gens domum meam, in qua multa et  
 ineffabilia mala fecerunt. Modo vero expulsis inimicis  
 inde, Domine, laetantur angeli in coelis." Dixitque mihi  
 30 Dominus: "Vade ergo et dic populo meo, vt reuertatur  
 ad me, et ego reuertar ad illum, et infra quinque dies  
 mittam ei magnum adiutorium, et cotidie decantet  
 responsorium: Congregati sunt, totum cum versu.  
 Seniores, si hoc non creditis esse verum, sinite modo  
 35 me in hanc scandere turrim, mittamque me deorsum;  
 si vero fuero incolumis, credatis hoc esse verum; sin  
 autem vllam laesionem fuero passus, decollate me, aut  
 in ignem proiicite me.' Tunc Podiensis episcopus iussit, vt  
 adferentur Euangelia et crux, quatinus iuraret ille hoc  
 40 esse verum. Consiliati sunt omnes maiores nostri in illa  
 hora, vt iurarent sacramentum, quod illorum nullus  
 fugeret, neque pro morte neque pro vita, quandiu viui  
 essent. Primus dicitur iurasse Boamundus, deinde  
 comes S. Aegidii, et Rotbertus Nortmannus, ac dux  
 45 Godefridus, et comes Flandrensis. Tancredus vero iurauit  
 ac promisit tali modo, quia quandiu secum quadraginta  
 milites haberet, non solum ex illo bello, sed etiam ab  
 Hierosolymitano itinere non esset recessurus. Nimis  
 autem exultauit Christiana congregatio, hoc audiens  
 50 sacramentum.

24 om. eum C                    32 mittam eis C                    decantent hoc C  
 33 responsoriun G (Bongars)            sunt inimici nostri C                    36  
 om. vero C                    36-37 si autem C                    38 proicite om. me  
 C                    39 afferentur C                    si hoc BC                    40 esset B:  
 verum esset C                    41 iurarent omnes BC                    super sacramen-  
 tum C                    nullus eorum C: nullus illorum B                    42-43  
 vivus esset C                    44-45 Egidii Comesque nobilis normannie  
 Robertus et Comes flandrensis et dux Godefridus C                    45 om.  
 vero C                    47 in B hoc bello C                    48 ierosolimitano BC  
 itinere recederet C                    49-50 audito sacramento C

**XXV.** Erat autem quidam peregrinus de nostro 1098 exercitu, cui nomen Petrus, cui antequam ciuitatem intraremus apparuit S. Andreas apostolus, dicens: 'Quid agis, bone vir?' Cui ille respondit: 'Tu quis es?' Dixit ei apostolus: 'Ego sum Andreas apostolus. Agnoscas fili, 5 quia dum villam intraueris, vadens ad ecclesiam B. Petri, ibi inuenies lanceam Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, ex qua in crucis pendens patibulo vulneratus est.' Haec omnia dicens apostolus continuo recessit. Ipse autem timens reuelare consilium apostoli, noluit indicare 10 nostris peregrinis. Estimabat autem se visum videre et dixit ad eum: 'Domine, quis hoc crediderit?' In illa vero hora accepit eum S. Andreas et portauit eum vsque ad locum vbi lancea erat recondita in terra. Iterum cum essemus ita vt superius diximus, venit S. Andreas rursus 15 dicens ei: 'Quare non abstulisti lanceam de terra, vt ego tibi praecepi? Scias reuera, quia quicunque lanceam hanc portauerit in bello, nunquam ab hoste superabitur.' Petrus vero continuo reuelauit mysterium apostoli, hominibus nostris. Populus autem non credebat, sed 20 prohibebat, dicens: 'Quomodo possumus hoc credere?' Omnino enim erant pauentes et protinus mori putabant. Accessit itaque ille et iurauit hoc totum veracissimum esse, quoniam ei S. Andreas bis in visione apparuerat, eique dixerat: 'Surge, vade et dic populo Dei, ne timeat, 25 sed firmiter toto corde credat in vnum verum Deum, eruntque vbique victuri, et infra quinque dies mandabit eis Dominus talem rem, vnde laeti et gausi manebunt,

**XXV.** 1 autem ibi *BC* 2 nomine Petrus *C* huic antequam *C* 3 apparuerat *C* 4 qui es? *B* 5 Scias fili *C* 8 vulneratus fuit *BC* 11 enim se *C* visum vidiisse *C* 12 crederet *C* 12-13 illa hora *C* 14 lancea recondita *C* 15 dixi *C* 16 dicens illi *BC* uti ego *B* 19 continuo mori *C* 23 verissimum *C* 24 om. ei *C* illi apparuerat *C* 25 valde et *C* 27-28 mandabit illis *C*

et si certare voluerint, mox vt exierint vnanimiter ad  
 30 bellum, omnes inimici eorum vincentur, et nemo stabit  
 contra illos.' Audientes itaque quod inimici eorum ab  
 eis omnino essent vincendi, protinus cooperunt sese viuifi-  
 care et confortabant se adinuicem dicentes: 'Experi-  
 scimini, et estote vbiique fortes et prudentes, quoniam  
 35 in proximo erit nobis Deus in adiutorium; et erit  
 maximum refugium populo suo, quem respicit in moerore  
 manentem.'

1098 **XXVI.** Turci denique qui erant seorsum in castello  
 vndique tam mirabiliter coangustabant nos, vt quadam  
 die incluserint tres milites ex nostris in turrim quae erat  
 ante eorum castellum. Exierant namque gentiles et  
 5 irruerant super illos tam acriter, vt nequirent sufferre  
 pondus eorum. Duo ex militibus exierunt de turri vulne-  
 rati, et tertius per totam diem viriliter defendebat se de  
 Turcorum inuasione tam prudenter, vt in ipsa die duos  
 Turcos strauerit super aditum muri caesis hastis. Nam  
 10 tres hastae detruncatae sunt in illa die in manibus suis.  
 Illi vero acceperunt capitalem sententiam. Erat nomen  
 illi Hugo li Forcenez, de exercitu Gosfredi de Monte  
 Scaioso. Videns autem vir venerabilis Boamundus quia  
 nullatenus posset conducere gentes sursum in castellum  
 15 ad bellum:—nam qui erant inclusi in domibus, timebant  
 alii fame, alii timore Turcorum:—iratus est valde,  
 iussitque confessim mitti ignem per vr bem in illa parte  
 in qua erat Cassiani palatium. Quod videntes illi qui

31 Audientes itaque hoc nostri: *om.* quod inimici . . .  
 vincendi *C* 34 ac prudentes *C* 36 suo refugium *C*  
 quoniam respicit *C*

**XXVI.** i *om.* denique *C* in castello sursum *C* 4 *om.*  
 ante eorum castellum *C* exierant enim *C* 6 ex illis *C*  
 6-7 vulnerati Tertius vero *C* 7 totum *C* *om.* viriliter *C*  
 defendit *C* 10 illi in manibus suis in illa die *C*: illi *B* 11  
 Illi duo *C* Erat autem *C* 12 huic hugo visanus *C* *om.* li  
 Forcenez *C* 13 Scabioso. *C* *HaTud* *om.* venerabilis *C*

erant in ciuitate, dereliquerunt domos, et omnia quae habebant, fugiebantque alii in castellum, alii ad portam 20 comitis S. Aegidii, alii ad portam ducis Godefridi, vnumquisque ad suam gentem. Tunc nimia tempestas venti subito surrexit, ita vt nemo posset se regere rectum. Boamundus itaque vir sapiens contristatus est valde, timens pro ecclesia Sancti Petri et Sanctae Mariae 25 aliisque ecclesiis. Haec ira durauit ab hora tertia usque in mediam noctem, fueruntque crematae fere duo millia ecclesiarum et domorum. Veniente autem media nocte, statim omnis feritas ignis cecidit. Itaque Turci habitantes in castello intra urbem bellabant nobiscum diu noctu- 30 que, et nihil aliud disperabat nos nisi arma. Videntes hoc nostri, quod non possent diu haec pati, quoniam qui habebat panem non licebat ei manducare, et qui habebat aquam, non licebat bibere, fecerunt murum inter nos et ipsos petra et calce, et aedificauerunt castellum 35 et machinas, vt securi essent. Pars autem Turcorum remansit in castello agendo nobiscum bellum, alia vero pars hospitata erat prope castellum in vna valle. Nocte quippe superueniente, ignis de coelo apparuit ab occidente veniens et appropinquans cecidit intra Turcorum 40 exercitus, vnde mirati sunt et nostri et Turci. Mane autem facto, tremefacti Turci fugerunt omnes pariter pro ignis timore ante domini Boamundi portam, illicque hospitati sunt. Pars vero quae erat in castello, agebat bellum cum nostris die nocteque, sagittando, vul- 45 nerando, occidendo. Alia autem pars vndeque obsedit

23 om. ita C posset recte incedere C 24-26 om. Boamundus . . . ecclesiis C 25 timens pro aliisque ecclesiis G (Bongars) ER 26 hora diei C 27 ad mediam C cremata C 29 statim cecidit C ignis. Itaque C 30 die B 33 habebat cibum C licebant C 34 om. aquam G (Bongars): add. aquam HaTud licebat ei C fecerunt ergo C 37 agens C 38-39 Nocte denique C 41-42 Mane igitur C 42 om. omnes C 43 propter ignis timorem C 45 noctuque Ha

ciuitatem, ita vt nullus nostrorum ciuitatem auderet exire aut intrare nisi nocte et occulte. Ita vero eramus obsessi et oppressi ab illis paganis, inimicis Dei et Sanctae 50 Christianitatis, quorum numerus fuit innumerabilis. Istique prophani et inimici Dei ita tenebant nos inclusos in vrbe Antiochiae, vt multi mortui fuerint fame, quoniam paruus panis vendebatur vno bizantio, de vino non loquar. Equinas namque carnes aut asininas manducabant et vendebant. Vendebant quoque gallinam quindecim solidis, ouum duobus solidis, vnam nucem vno denario ; omnia enim valde erant cara. Folia fici, vitis, et cardui, omniumque arborum coquebant et manducabant, tantam famem immensam habebant. Alii 60 coria caballorum et camelorum et asinorum atque boum seu bufalorum sicca decoquebant, et manducabant. Istan et multas anxietates ac angustias, quas nominare nequeo, passi sumus pro Christi nomine et S. Sepulcri via deliberanda. Tales quoque tribulationes et fames ac 65 timores passi sumus per viginti sex dies.

098 **XXVII.** Imprudens itaque Stephanus Carnotensis comes, quem omnes nostri maiores elegerant, vt esset ductor nostrorum, maxima se finxit deprimi infirmitate, priusquam Antiochia esset capta, turpiterque recessit in aliud castrum, quod vocatur Alexandreta. Nos itaque cotidie praestolabamur eum, quatinus subueniret nobis in adiutorio, qui eramus inclusi in vrbe salutifero carentes auxilio. At ille, postquam audiuit gentem Turcorum

47 audere civitatem *C* 48 vel intrare *C* vel occulte *C*  
 Ita ergo *C* 49 aliis et illis *C* 49-50 *om. paganis . . .*  
 Christianitatis *BC* : Dei et sanctae Trinitatis *G* (*Bongars*) 50  
 illis quorum numerus erat *C* 51 Isti autem *B* 54 et asininas  
*C* 56 quindecim ouum duobus solidis *C* 58 et vitis *C*  
 59 tam immensam famem *C* *om. habebant C* alia *C* 62 et  
 angustias *C* : *om. ac angustias B* enumerare *C* 64 tales  
 fames *C*

**XXVII.** 4 antequam *C* 5 Nos autem *C* 7 aliquo  
 adiutorio *C* 8 Ipse vero *C*

circumcingentem et obsidentem nos, latenter ascendit super proximam montaneam, quae stabat prope Antiochiam, vidiisque innumerabilia tentoria, vehementique captus timore recessit, fugiitque festinanter cum suo exercitu. Veniens autem in suum castrum, exspoliauit illud et celeri cursu retrouertitur. Postquam vero venit obuiam imperatori ad Philomenam, seorsum vocauit eum secreto dicens: 'Scias reuera, quoniam capta est Antiochia et castrum minime captum est, nostrique omnes graui obsessione obsessi sunt, et, vt puto, a Turcis modo imperfecti sunt. Reuertere ergo retro quam citius potes, ne et ipsi inueniant te et hanc gentem quam tecum ducis.' Tunc imperator timore perterritus clam vocauit Widonem, fratrem Boamundi, et quosdam alios, et ait illis: 'Seniores, quid faciemus? Ecce omnes nostri districta obsessione impediti sunt, et forsitan in hac hora Turcorum manibus omnes mortui sunt aut in captiuitatem ducti, sicut iste infelix comes turpiter fugiens narrat. Si vultis, reuertamur retro celeri cursu, ne et nos moriamur repentina morte, quemadmodum et illi mortui sunt.' Cum Wido miles honestissimus talia audisset fallacia, cum omnibus statim coepit plorare atque vehemen-

9 circumcinxisse et obsedisse C 10 quae erat C 11 vi-  
densque C 12 festinanter ut formidolosus  
C 13 retro vertit iter C: vertitur B 14 Philomenam,  
qui cum suo exercitu in auxilium properabat Christianorum C  
15 dicens et C Scia C 16 sed castrum C 17 oppressione  
HaTud 18 obsidentur C 19 Reuertere igitur C om. retro C  
20 ne ipsi C 21 ducis. Willelmus denique de Archis dudum  
monachus egregius, tunc vero miles acerrimus, quem superius  
nominavimus se per murum cum aliis noctu latenter dimisisse,  
qui se in fuga comiti Stephano sociaverat, affirmare cepit sub  
iureiurando dicens imperatori, quia si Antiochiam pergeret, quo  
ire festinabat, caput sine dubio amitteret. Sic enim Boamundum  
iurasse cum sacramento firmabat. Hiis auditis Imperatore quia C  
22 forsan C 23 omnes a Turcorum manibus HaTud: per  
manus Turcorum occisi C 24 sicut et C 25 Wydo om.  
Cum C: Guido B 26 comes C om. honestissimus C cum  
audisset C 27-28 om. fallacia, cum omnibus C

tissimo v lulatu plangere, vnaque voce omnes dicebant :  
 ' O Deus verus, trinus et v nus, quam ob rem haec fieri  
 permisisti ? Cur populum sequentem te in manibus  
 inimicorum incidere permisisti et viam tui itineris  
 35 tuique Sepulcri liberare volentes tam cito demisisti ?  
 Certe, si verum est hoc verbum quod ab istis nequissimis  
 audiuimus, nos et alii Christiani derelinquemus te, nec  
 te amplius rememorabimur, et v nus ex nobis non aude-  
 bit v lterius inuocare nomen tuum.' Et fuit hic sermo  
 40 moestissimus in tota militia, ita vt nullus illorum siue  
 episcopus siue abbas seu clericus seu laicus auderet  
 inuocare Christi nomen per plures dies. Nemo namque  
 poterat consolari Widonem plorantem et ferientem se  
 manibus, suosque frangentem digitos, et dicentem :  
 45 ' Heu mihi, domine mi Boamunde, honor et decus totius  
 mundi, quem omnis mundus timebat et amabat !  
 Heu mihi tristis ! Non merui dolens tuam videre honesti-  
 simam speciem, qui nullam rem magis videre desidera-  
 bam. Quis mihi det vt ego moriar pro te, dulcissime  
 50 amice et domine ? Cur ego ex vtero matris meae exiens,  
 non statim mortuus fui ? Cur ad hanc lugubrem diem  
 perueni ? Cur non demersus fui in mare ? Cur non ex  
 equo cecidi fracto collo, vt recepissem repentinum  
 interitum ? Vtinam tecum recepissem felix martyrium,  
 55 vt cernerem te gloriissimum recepisse finem ! ' Cumque  
 omnes cucurrissent ad eum, quatinus consolarentur  
 eum, vt iam finem daret planctui, in se reuersus ait :  
 ' Forsitan creditis huic semicano imprudenti militi ?  
 Vnquam vere non audiui loqui de militia aliqua, quam

31 omnesque pariter cum eo unaque voce dicebant C 32  
 verus domine Ihesu Christe C om. trinus et unus C 33 dimisisti  
 Ha 38 et nullus C om. non C 40 valde mestissimus  
 BC eorum BC 45 mihi dolens misero C 53-54 om.  
 ut...interitum B 55 suscepisse BC 56 ut illum con-  
 solarentur om. eum BC 58 semicani C 59 Nunquam C  
 vere audivimus C quam ipse C

idem fecisset. Sed turpiter et inhoneste recedit, sicut 60 nequissimus et infelix, et quicquid miser nuntiat, sciatis falsum esse.' Interea iussit imperator suis hominibus, dicens: 'Ite et conducite omnes homines istius terrae in Bulgariam et explorate et deuastate vniuersa loca, vt, cum venerint Turci, nihil possint hic reperire.' Voluis- 65 sent noluissent nostri, reuersi sunt retrorsum, dolentes amarissime vsque ad mortem; fueruntque mortui multi ex peregrinis languentes nec valentes fortiter militiam sequi, remanebantque morientes in via. Omnes vero alii reuersi sunt Constantinopolim. 70

**XXVIII.** Nos igitur, auditis sermonibus illius qui nobis 1098 Christi reuelationem retulit per verba apostoli, statim festinantes peruenimus ad locum in S. Petri ecclesia quem ille demonstrauerat. Et foderunt ibi tredecim homines a mane vsque ad vesperam; sicque homo ille 5 inuenit lanceam, sicut indicauerat, et acceperunt illam cum magno gaudio et timore; fuitque orta immensa laetitia in tota vrbe. Ab illa hora accepimus inter nos consilium belli. Porro statuerunt omnes maiores nostri consilium, quatinus nuncium mitterent ad inimicos 10 Christi Turcos, qui per aliquem interpretem interro- garet eos seculo eloquio, dicens: 'Quamobrem super- bissime in Christianorum introissent terram, et cur castra- metati sint, et quare Christi seruos occidant et con- quassent.' Cumque iam finis esset dictis, inuenerunt 15 quosdam viros, Petrum scilicet heremitam et Herluinum, illisque dixerunt haec omnia: 'Ite ad execratum Turco- rum exercitum et diligenter narrate eis haec omnia,

61 esse sciatis C 65-66 Voluissent itaque C 68 pere- grinis et C 69 mortui in via C

**XXVIII.** 1 Nos autem C 2 om. Christi C re- lationem lance domini C 4 duodecim homines C 7-8 Et orta magna letitia C 10 legatum C 13-14 castra super illos metati sunt C 15 Cum B 17 illeque(sic) C hunc(sic) omnia C

interrogantes eos, cur audacter et superbissime in-  
 20 troierint terram Christianorum et nostram.' His dictis,  
 recesserunt nuntii, veneruntque ad prophanum collegium,  
 dicentes omnia missa verba Curbaram et aliis ita: 'Satis  
 multumque mirantur nostri maiores et seniores, quam-  
 obrem temere ac superbissime in Christianorum intro-  
 25 istis terram et illorum. Putamus forsitan et credimus,  
 quia huc ideo venistis quoniam per omnia vultis effici  
 Christiani; aut propterea igitur huc venistis, vt per  
 omnia Christianos affiliatis? Rogant vos igitur omnes  
 pariter nostri maiores, vt velociter recedatis a terra Dei  
 30 et Christianorum, quam B. Petrus apostolus iam dudum  
 praedicando ad Christi culturam conuertit. At illi  
 permittunt adhuc vobiscum deduci omnia vestra:  
 scilicet equos et mulos, asinos et camelos, oves et boues  
 et omnia alia ornamenta permittunt vobiscum, quo-  
 35 cunque volueritis, ferre.' Tunc Curbaram, princeps  
 militiae Soldani Persidis, cum omnibus aliis, pleni super-  
 bria, feroci respondere sermone: 'Deum vestrum et  
 vestram Christianitatem nec optamus nec volumus,  
 vosque cum illis omnino respuimus. Huc vsque iam  
 40 venimus, eo quod valde miramur quamobrem seniores ac  
 maiores quos memoratis, cur terram quam abstulimus  
 effeminatis gentibus illi vocant esse suam. Vultis namque  
 scire, quid vobis dicimus? Reuertimini ergo quantocius  
 et dicite vestris senioribus, quia si per omnia cupiunt  
 45 effici Turci et Deum vestrum, quem vos inclini colitis,

19-20 introierunt C      21-22 legati et ad prophanum venerunt  
 collegium dixeruntque C: venerunt ad B      23 multisque C  
 24-25 introissent C      26 om. vultis C      26-27 om. quoniam  
 . . . venistis B      Christiani efficiamini C      27-28 om. aut . . .  
 affiliatis      29 om. pariter C      31 ad culturam Dei C      33  
 et asinos B      oves quoque et BC      34 om. permittunt vobis-  
 cum C      36 et omnes alii C      38 nec voluntatem ad id habemus  
 C      42 om. illi C dicunt esse C      43 om. ergo C      44-45  
 cupiunt fieri C

abnegare volunt, et leges vestras spernere, nos illis hanc 50  
et satis plus dabimus de terra, et ciuitates et castella ;  
adhuc autem quod nemo vestrorum remanebit pedes,  
sed erunt omnes milites, sicut et nos sumus ; et habe-  
bimus semper eos in summa amicitia. Sin autem, sciant  
se per omnia capitalem subire sententiam, aut deducti 55  
in vinculis Corrozanam, in captiuitate perpetua seruient  
nobis nostrisque infantibus per sempiterna tempora.'  
Nuntii vero nostri velociter reuersi sunt retrorsum,  
referentes omnia quae respondisset eis gens crudelis-  
sima. Fertur Herluinus vtramque scisse linguam, fuit- 60  
que interpres Petro Heremita. Interea exercitus noster  
in vtraque tremefactus parte ignorabat quid faceret.  
Ex vna enim parte coangustabat eos cruciabilis fames, in  
alia constringebat timor Turcorum.

**XXIX.** Tandem triduanis expletis ieuniis et pro- 1098  
cessionibus celebratis ab vna ecclesia in aliam, de peccatis  
suis confessi sunt et absoluti, fideliterque corpori et  
sanguini Christi communicauerunt; datusque eleemosynis  
fecerunt celebrari missas. Deinde stabilitae sunt sex 5  
acies ex eis, intra ciuitatem. In prima vero acie, in  
primo videlicet capite, fuit Hugo Magnus cum Franci-  
genis et Flandrensi comite; in secunda dux Godefridus  
cum suo exercitu; in tertia vero fuit Rotbertus Nort-  
mannus cum suis militibus; in quarta fuit Podiensis 10  
episcopus, portans secum lanceam Saluatoris, cum sua  
gente et cum exercitu Raimundi comitis S. Aegidii,  
qui remansit sursum custodire castellum, pro timore  
Turcorum, ne descenderent in ciuitatem; in quinta acie

52 pedestris C 55 deduci C 57 nobis et filiis  
nostris per C 58 legati igitur C 64 contristabat C

**XXIX.** 2 ad aliam C 4 sanguini domini C 6 prima acie C  
6-7 in primo scilicet C 8 Flandrensis comes cum suis C 9 cum  
suis C 9-10 miles fortis Robertus Comes Normannie C: nor-  
manus B 10 electis militibus C 11 nostri Salvatoris C  
13-14 om. pro timore Turcorum C 14 ne Turci descenderent C

15 fuit Tancredus, Marchisi filius, cum sua gente; in sexta  
 etenim fuit vir sapiens Boamundus cum sua militia.  
 Episcopi nostri et presbyteri et clerici ac monachi sacris  
 vestibus induiti nobiscum exierunt cum crucibus, orantes  
 et depraecantes Dominum, vt nos saluos faceret et  
 20 custodiret et ab omnibus malis eriperet. Alii stabant  
 super murum portae, tenentes sacras cruces in manibus  
 suis, signando et benedicendo nos. Ita nos ordinati et  
 signo crucis protecti, exiuiimus per portam quae est  
 ante Machomariam. Postquam Curbaram vidi Franc-  
 25 corum acies, tam pulcre ordinatas, exire vnam post  
 aliam, dixit: 'Sinite eos exire, vt melius eos habeamus  
 in potestate nostra.' Postquam vero fuerunt foris de  
 vrbe vidiique Curbaram ingentem Francorum gentem,  
 valde timuit. Mox mandauit suo ammiralio, qui omnia  
 30 habebat in custodia, vt si ille videret ignem accensum in  
 capite hostis, protinus paeconari faceret omnem exercitum redire, sciens Turcos amisisse bellum. Continuo  
 Curbaram coepit paulatim redire retro contra montaneam, nostrique paulatim persequebantur illos. Deni-  
 35 que diuisi sunt Turci: vna pars iuit contra mare, et  
 alii steterunt illic, putantes nostros includere inter se.  
 Videntes hoc nostri, fecerunt similiter. Illic fuit ordinata  
 acies septena ex acie ducis Godefridi et comitis Nort-  
 manniae, et caput illius fuit comes Reinaldus. Hanc  
 40 miserunt obuiam Turcis, qui veniebant a mari. Turci  
 autem paeliati sunt cum illis et sagittando multos occi-  
 derunt ex nostris. Aliae autem turmae ordinatae sunt a

15 *om.* Marchisi filius *BC* 16 *om.* etenim *BC* *om.* vir  
 sapiens *BC* 17 et monachi *B* 19 deprecantes Deum  
*C* et Dominum *B* 22 *om.* suis *C* signantesque ac  
 benedicentes *C* 23 nos signati *C* 26 melius habeamus omnes  
*C* 27-28 fuerunt omnes foras urbem *C* 28 *om.* ingentem *C*  
 29 Moxque *C* 33 retro cedere *C* 34 persequeatur eum *C* 37  
 tunc fuit ibi *C* 38 septima *C* et nobilissimi *C* 38-39  
 Normannie Roberti *C* 39 cupid illius extitit *C* *om.* comes  
*CHa* 42 ex eis *C* Aliae vero *C* ordinaverunt se *C*

flumine vsque ad montaneam, quod distat per duo miliaria. Cooperunt vero turmae ex vtraque parte exire nostrosque vndique circumcingere, iaculando, sagit- 45 tando, vulnerando. Exibant quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, habentes equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia erant alba. Videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant penitus quid hoc esset et qui essent, donec cognouerunt esse adiutorium Christi, cuius 50 ductores fuerunt Sancti Georgius, Mercurius et Demetrius. Haec verba credenda sunt, quia plures ex nostris viderunt. Turci autem qui stabant in parte maris, videntes quod non possent sufferre amplius, miserunt ignem in herbam, vt videntes illi qui erant in tentoriis, 55 fugerent. At illi cognoscentes illud signum, arripuerunt omnia honorabilia spolia et fugerunt. Nostri vero paulatim militabant vbi maxima virtus eorum erat, scilicet ad tentoria illorum. Dux Godefridus et Flandrensis comes et Hugo Magnus equitabant iuxta 60 aquam, vbi virtus illorum erat. Isti primitus signo crucis muniti vnamiter inuaserunt illos. Videntes hoc aliae acies, simili modo inuaserunt illos, exclamauerunt autem Persae et Turci. Nos itaque, inuocantes Deum viuum et verum, equitauimus contra illos et in nomine 65 Iesu Christi et S. Sepulcri incepimus bellum et Deo iuuante deuicimus eos. Turci vero tremefacti arripuerunt fugam, nostrique illos persequebantur iuxta tentoria. Itaque milites Christi magis amabant persequi illos quam vila spolia quaerere. Et persecuti sunt eos 70 vsque ad pontem Farreum, ac deinde vsque ad castellum

43 om. ad C 44 ergo C om. exire B 46 exie-  
runt C 50-51 Cuius exercitus ductores fuerunt C 55  
videntes hii C 56 statim arripuerunt C 58 equita-  
bant ubi C virtus illorum C 59 tentoria eorum C  
61 Hii C 64 om. autem C Nos autem C 67 vicimus  
B 69 magi amabat C 70 sunt illos B: eos sunt C

Tancredi. Illi vero dimiserunt ibi papiliones suos et aurum et argentum multaque ornamenta, oves quoque et boues, equos et mulos, camelos et asinos, frumentum et 75 vinum, farinam et alia multa quae nobis erant necessaria. Hermenii et Surrani qui habitabant in illis partibus, audientes nos superasse Turcos, cucurrerunt ad montaneam obuiantes illis, et quantos comprehendenderunt ex illis, interfecerunt. Nos autem reuertentes ad ciuitatem 80 cum magno gaudio, laudauimus et benediximus Deum, qui victoriam dedit populo suo. Ammiralius itaque qui castellum custodiebat, videns Curbaram et omnes alios fugientes e campo ante Francorum exercitum, magis timuit; statim vero cum magna festinatione petebat 85 Francorum vexilla. Comes igitur S. Aegidii, qui illic astabat ante castellum, iussit ei portari suum vexillum. Ille autem accepit illud et diligenter misit in turrim. Statim dixerunt Longobardi, qui illic stabant: 'Hoc vexillum non est Boamundi.' Interrogauit ille et dixit: 90 'Cuius est?' Qui dixerunt: 'S. Aegidii comitis.' Accessit ille et apprehenso vexillo reddidit comiti. Ipsa vero hora venit vir honorabilis Boamundus deditque illi suum vexillum; ille autem illud accepit cum magno gaudio et iniit pactum cum domino Boamundo, vt pagani qui 95 vellet Christianitatem recipere, essent cum eo, et qui vellet abire, sanos et absque vlla laesione abire permetteret. Consensit ille quicquid ammiralius postulauit, et continuo misit suos seruientes in castellum. Non post

75 et farinam *C* 78 apprehenderunt *C* 79 reversi sumus *C* 80 gaudio magno laudantes et benedicentes *C* 83 fugisse *C* 84 statimque cum festinatione magna petere cepit *C* 86 ei tradi *C* 87 quod ille *C* *om.* autem *C* 88 Longobardi autem qui illic astabant dixerunt *C* 90 Cuius igitur *C* 91 apprehensum vexillum *C* 92 vir venerabilis *HaR* et dedit *C* 93 quod ille accepit cum magno gaudio *C* 95 eos autem qui *C* 96 *om.* ulla *C* 97 Consensit ille *HaR*: ei *G* (*Bongars*) 98 misit duos *ER*: misit homines suos *C*

multos dies baptizatus est ammiralius cum illis qui Christum recognoscere maluerunt. Illos vero qui suas <sup>100</sup> voluerunt tenere leges, fecit dominus Boamundus conduci in Saracenorum terram. Hoc bellum factum est in quarto Kalend. Iul., in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria in sempiterna secula. Amen. <sup>105</sup>

**XXX.** Et cum essent omnes inimici nostri (Deo <sup>1098</sup> trino et vno summoque dignas referimus grates), per omnia deuicti, huc illucque fugientes, alii semiuiui, alii vulnerati, in vallibus et in nemoribus et in aruis et in viis deficiebant mortui. Populus vero Christi, victores <sup>5</sup> scilicet peregrini, reuersi sunt gaudentes felici triumpho, deuictis hostibus, in ciuitatem. Statim omnes nostri seniores, videlicet dux Godefridus, comes S. Aegidii Raimundus, Boamundus et comes Nortmanniae, comesque Flandrensis et alii omnes miserunt nobilissimum <sup>10</sup> militem Hugonem Magnum imperatori Constantinopolim, vt ad recipiendam ciuitatem veniret, et conuentiones quas erga illos habebat, expleret; iuit, nec postea rediit. Postquam vero haec omnia facta sunt, congregati omnes nostri maiores ordinauerunt concilium, quemadmodum <sup>15</sup> hunc feliciter valerent conducere et regere populum, donec peragerent iter S. Sepulcri, pro quo huc usque multa erant passi pericula. Inuentum est in concilio,

<sup>101</sup> volebant *B* <sup>102</sup> om. terram *C* <sup>102-103</sup> est quarto  
CER <sup>103</sup> Iulii, vigilia *BER* om. in vigilia . . . Pauli *C* <sup>104</sup>  
om. nostro *E*

**XXX.** <sup>1</sup> Cum igitur *C*: Et cum iam *Ha* <sup>2-3</sup> per omnia devicti unde Deo *C* (grates) huc *C* <sup>3</sup> fugere coeperunt *ER* <sup>4</sup> in agris *C* <sup>5</sup> deprehendebantur mortui *ER* <sup>7</sup> Statimque *C* <sup>9</sup> Boamundus, comes Nortmanniae *HaR* <sup>9-10</sup> comes Flandrensis *ER* <sup>10-11</sup> nobilissimum comitem *ER* <sup>11</sup> Constantinopolim ad imperatorem *C* <sup>14</sup> Postea *C* gesta sunt *CER* om. omnes *CER* <sup>15</sup> et ordinaverunt *B* <sup>17-18</sup> quo hactenus tanta *C* <sup>18</sup> perpessi sunt *C*: perpessi *ER* Inuentum est *HaR* consilio *C*

quia nondum auderent intrare in paganorum terram,  
 20 eo quod valde in aestiuo tempore est arida et inaquosa ;  
 ideoque acceperunt terminum attendendum ad Kalend.  
 Nouemb. Denique diuisi sunt seniores, et vniusquisque  
 profectus est in terram suam, donec esset prope terminus  
 eundi. Feceruntque principes praeconari per vrbem  
 25 vniuersam, vt si forte aliquis egens illic adesset, et auro  
 argentoque careret, conuentione facta cum illis remanere  
 si vellet, ab eis cum gaudio retentus esset. Erat autem  
 ibi quidam miles de exercitu comitis S. Aegidii, cui nomen  
 Raimundus Piletus ; hic plurimos retinuit homines,  
 30 milites ac pedites. Egressus est ille cum collecto exercitu  
 et viriliter introiit in Saracenorum terram et profectus  
 est ultra duas ciuitates et peruenit ad quoddam castrum,  
 cui nomen Talamania. Habitatores castri, scilicet  
 Suriani, confestim sua sponte se tradiderunt ei. Cumque  
 35 omnes essent ibi fere per octo dies, nuntii venerunt ad  
 eum dicentes : 'Quoniam hic prope nos est castrum  
 Sarracenorum multitudine plenum.' Ad hoc castrum  
 ilico ierunt Christi milites peregrini et vndeque inuaserunt  
 illud, quod continuo ab illis captum est, Christi adiu-  
 40 torio. Apprehenderunt igitur omnes illius loci colonos,  
 et qui Christianitatem recipere noluerunt, occiderunt ;  
 qui vero Christum recognoscere maluerunt, viuos con-  
 seruarunt. Reuersi sunt itaque hoc peracto nostri

20 om. valde C nimis sit arida C 21 usque ad  
 C 22 Divisi sunt igitur C 23 donec advenisset pro-  
 fiscendi terminus C esset terminus HaR 24-25 universam  
 urbem Ha : Civitatem quod C 25 ibi adesset C 26  
 et argento HaR cum eis C om. remanere CE 27 cum  
 gaudio retineretur ab illis C 30 om. ille C 31 introiit B  
 31-32 profectus ultra C 32 ciuitates peruenit C 33 Thala-  
 mania C Habitatores autem C 35-36 om. ad eum C  
 36 castrum quoddam C 37 Ad hec C 38 perrexerunt  
 C 39 om. illud CE 39-40 statimque captum est ab illis  
 adiutorio Christi C 40 Apprehendere C : adiutorio appre-  
 henderunt B om. loci C incolas C 42 recognoscere Christum  
 voluerunt C 42-43 conservaverunt BC 43 hiis peractis C

Franci cum magno gaudio ad prius castrum. Tertia  
vero die exierunt et venerunt ad quandam vrbem, cui 45  
nomen Marra, quae illic erat prope illos. Erant autem  
ibi multi Turci congregati et Saraceni ab Aleph ciuitate  
et ab omnibus vrbibus et castris quae circa illam sunt.  
Exierunt ergo barbari contra illos ad bellum, nostrique  
aestimantes luctari cum illis praeliando, coegerunt eos in 50  
fugam, et tamen reuersi, per totum diem inuadebant  
nostros adiuicem, et vsque ad vesperam perdurauit illa  
inuasio. Aestus namque erat immensus. Nequibant  
iam nostri sufferre tantam sitim, quoniam nullatenus ad  
bibendum inuenire ibi aquam poterant; voluerunt 55  
tamen ad illorum castrum secure redire. Pro illorum  
enim peccatis Suriani et minuta gens nimio pauore  
correpti, mox cooperunt viam carpere retrorsum. Vt  
autem Turci viderunt illos retrocedentes, statim coepe-  
runt illos persequi, et victoria illis ministrabat vires: 60  
multi namque ex ipsis reddiderunt animas Deo, cuius  
amore illic congregati fuerant. Haec occisio facta est  
quinto die, in mense Iulio. Reuersi sunt autem Franci  
illi, qui remanserant, in suum castrum, et fuit ibi Raimundus  
cum sua gente per plures dies. Alii vero qui in 65  
Antiochia remanserant, steterunt in ea cum gaudio et  
laetitia magna, quorum rector et pastor extitit Podiensis  
episcopus, qui, nutu Dei, graui aegritudine captus est,

44 et ad E 45 post die C quandam civitatem C 47  
Alech E 48 quae erant C circa illas BER om. sunt C  
49 Exieruntque C om. ergo barbari C contra illis G (Bongars)  
contra nos C nostri igitur C 50 luctari posse C 50-51  
miserunt eos in fugam qui tamen revertentes C 52 duravit C  
53 Aestus autem C: quippe R 54 ibi nullatenus C:  
nullatenus ibi BER 55 invenire (om. ibi BCER) poter-  
rant aquam C (om. aquam B) 55-56 volueruntque secure  
redire ad suum castrum C 56-57 illorum vero C 58 correcti  
B 59 viderunt eos C 60 eos persequi C: om. illos E qui-  
bus victoria C om. illis C 61 multi vero ex nostris C  
pro cuius C 63 quinta feria C 66 remanserunt C  
67 om. magna C pastor erat C

et, vt Dei voluntas fuit, migrauit ab hoc seculo, et in  
 70 pace requiescens obdormiuit in Domino, in solennitate  
 scilicet S. Petri, quae dicitur ad Vincula. Vnde magna  
 angustia et tribulatio immensusque dolor fuit in tota  
 Christi militia, quia ille erat sustentamentum pauperum,  
 consilium diuitum, ipseque ordinabat clericos, praedi-  
 75 cabat et summonebat milites, dicens: 'Quia nemo ex  
 vobis saluari potest nisi honorificet pauperes et re-  
 ficiat; vosque non potestis saluari sine illis, ipsique viuere  
 nequeunt sine vobis. Oportet igitur vt ipsi quotidi-  
 ana supplicatione pro vestris orent delictis Deum,  
 80 quem in multis cotidie offenditis; vnde vos rogo vt  
 pro Dei amore eos diligatis, et in quantum potestis eos  
 sustentetis.'

1098 **XXXI.** Non post multum vero temporis venit vir  
 venerabilis Raimundus, comes de S. Aegidio, et intrauit  
 in Saracenorum terram et peruenit in quandam vrbem  
 quae vocatur Albara, quam inuasit vna cum suo exercitu,  
 5 eamque continuo coepit; et occidit omnes Saracenos et  
 Saracenas, maiores et minores, quos ibi reperit. Quam  
 postquam suo continuit imperio, ad Christi reuocauit  
 fidem, quaesiuitque consilium a suis sapientissimis viris,  
 vt episcopum in hac vrbe deuotissime paeordinari  
 10 faceret, qui illam ad Christi cultum fideliter reuocaret  
 et de domo diabolica templum Deo viuo et vero et  
 oracula Sanctorum consecraret. Nouissime elegerunt  
 quendam honorabilem ac sapientissimum virum et  
 duxere illum in Antiochiam ad consecrandum; factum-

71 *om.* scilicet *C* 73 quoniam ille *C* 77 neque ipsi *C*  
 78 *om.* nequeunt *BCER* 79 orens *B*

**XXXI.** 1 *om.* venit vir *C* 2 *om.* venerabilis Raimun-  
 dus *C* *om.* et *C* 3 ad quamdam *HaTud* 5-6 Saracenos  
 masculos et feminas tam maiores quam minores *C* 8 sapien-  
 tibus *ER* 9-10 in ea ordinari devotissime faceret *C* 10  
 ad fidem Christi cultumque *CER* 14 duxerunt *C*

que est ita. Alii autem qui in Antiochia remanserant, 15  
 fuerunt ibidem cum gaudio et laetitia. Appropinquante  
 vero termino, videlicet festo Omnis Sanctorum, regressi  
 sunt omnes maiores nostri in vnum, in Antiochiam,  
 omnesque simul coeperunt quaerere qualiter S. Sepulcri  
 iter valerent peragere, dicentes: 'Quoniam appropinqua- 20  
 uerat eundi terminus, nulla erat hora conturbandi  
 amplius.' Boamundus autem quaerebat cotidie con-  
 uentionem quam omnes seniores olim habuerant ei  
 in reddendam ciuitatem; sed comes S. Aegidii ad nullam  
 conuentionem volebat se emollire erga Boamundum, eo 25  
 quod timebat se peierare erga imperatorem; tamen  
 saepe fuerunt congregati in ecclesia S. Petri ad faciendum  
 quod iustum erat. Boamundus recitauit suam con-  
 uentionem suumque ostendit compotum. Comes S.  
 Aegidii similiter sua patefecit verba et iusurandum quod 30  
 fecerat imperatori per consilium Boamundi. Episcopi  
 et dux Godefridus, Flandrensisque comes et comes de  
 Nortmannia aliique seniores diuisi sunt ab aliis, et  
 intrauerunt vbi est cathedra S. Petri, vt ibi iudicium inter  
 vtrumque discernerent. Postea vero timentes ne S. 35  
 Sepulcri via perturbaretur, noluerunt aperte dicere iudi-  
 cium. Ait denique comes S. Aegidii: 'Priusquam via S.  
 Sepulcri remaneat, si Boamundus nobiscum venire volue-  
 rit, quicquid nostri pares, videlicet dux Godefridus et Flan-  
 drensis comes et Rotbertus Nortmannus aliique seniores 40

15-16 *om.* Alii autem . . . laetitia *CE* 17 festivitate *C*  
 18 nostri et convenerunt *C* Antiochia *CE* 19 in-  
 quirere *C* 20-21 eundi terminus appropinquavit nulla mora  
*C* 21 conturbandum *G* (*Bongars*): conturbandi *HaR*: differ-  
 endi est *C* 23 olim erga *C* 24 reddenda ciuitate  
*C* 25 *om.* erga *E* 26-27 unde sepe *C* 27 *om.* S. Petri *E*  
 31-33 Episcopi, Rotbertus, comes de Nortmannia, et dux Gode-  
 fridus, Flandrensisque comes et alii *ER*: Episcopi et Robertus  
 comes Normannie et dux Godefridus Flandrensisque comes et  
 reliqui *C* 35 decernerent *C* 39-40 Godefridus dominusque  
 Rotbertus, Nortmannie comes, et Flandrensis comes (dominusque  
 Robertus Normannie Comes et Comes Flandrensis *C*) aliquie *CER*

laudauerint, ego fideliter consentiam, salua fidelitate imperatoris.' Hoc totum laudauit Boamundus, et promise-  
runt ambo in manibus episcoporum, quod nullo modo per  
se via S. Sepulcri deturbaretur. Tunc accepit Boamundus  
45 consilium cum suis hominibus, quo modo muniret castrum  
de alta montanea hominibus et victu. Similiter comes S.  
Aegidii accepit consilium cum suis quomodo muniret pala-  
tium Cassiani ammiralii et turrim quae est super portam  
pontis, qui est ex parte portus Sancti Simeonis, muniret, in-  
50 quam, hominibus et victu, qui non deficeret longo tempore.

1098 **XXXII.** Haec urbs Antiochia scilicet valde est pul-  
Situs et honorabilis; quia infra muros eius sunt quatuor  
Vrbis montaneae maxima et nimis altae. In altiori quoque est  
Antio-  
chia. castellum aedificatum, mirabile et nimis forte. De  
5 deorsum est ciuitas honorabilis et conueniens, omnibus-  
que ornata honoribus, quoniam multae ecclesiae sunt in  
ea aedificatae; tercenta et sexaginta monasteria in se  
continet. Sub suo iugo continet patriarcha centum  
quinquaginta tres episcopos. Clauditur ciuitas duobus  
10 muris; maior quoque valde est altus, et mirabiliter latus,  
magnisque lapidibus compositus, in quo sunt ordinatae  
quater centum et quinquaginta turres; modisque  
omnibus est ciuitas formosa; ab oriente clauditur  
quatuor magnis montaneis; ab occidente secus muros  
15 vrbis fluit quoddam flumen cui nomen Farfar: et ita  
noluerunt stulte neque inane dimittere regalem ciuita-  
tem Antiochiam, quae tantae auctoritatis fuit, quod eam

44 Sancti Sepulcri via perturbaretur C Boamundus accepit  
ER: cepit C 45 om. muniret C 49 pontis, add. qui est ex  
parte portus Sancti Simeonis HaRTud: om. qui . . . Simeonis  
G (Bongars) 49-50 om. inquam C

**XXXII. Titulus De Situ Civitatis Antiochie** C: om. Situs Urbis  
Antiochiae BER 3 montanea est C 5 Deorsum ER: Deor-  
sum vero C 6 ornata muneribus et C 8 continet intra se C  
9 Clauditur autem C 10 maior murus multum C om. quoque  
valde C 12 ccl turres C 14 vero secus C 15-17 om.  
et ita . . . Antiochiam codd. R 17 que (videlicet C)  
civitas magne auctoritatis est, nam eam codd. R

prius septuaginta quinque reges constituerunt, quorum fuit caput Antiochus rex, a quo dicitur Antiochia. Istam ciuitatem tenuerunt Franci obsessam per octo <sup>20</sup> menses et vnum diem. Postea fuerunt intus inclusi tres hebdomadas a Turcis et ab aliis paganis, quorum numero nunquam fuit maior congregatio hominum, vel Christianorum vel paganorum. Tamen, adiutorio Dei et S. Sepulcri, deuictis illis a Christianis, requieuimus cum <sup>25</sup> gaudio et laetitia magna in Antiochia per quinque menses et octo dies.

**XXXIII.** Quibus expletis, mense Nouembrio discessit <sup>1098</sup> Raimundus comes S. Aegidii cum suo exercitu ab Antiochia, venitque per vnam ciuitatem, quae vocatur Rugia, et per aliam, quae dicitur Albaria. Quarto vero die exeunte Nouembrio peruenit ad Marram ciuitatem, <sup>5</sup> in qua maxima multitudo Saracenorum et Turcorum et Arabum aliorumque paganorum erat congregata, ipseque comes in crastinum inuasit eam. Non post multum vero temporis Boamundus cum suo exercitu secutus est comites et applicitus est cum eis in die <sup>10</sup> dominica. Secunda vero feria nimis fortiter inuaserunt vndique ciuitatem, et tam acriter tamque fortiter, vt scalae starent erectae ad murum. Sed tam maxima virtus paganorum erat, quod illa die nihil eos offendere aut nocere potuerunt. Videntes autem seniores quia nihil <sup>15</sup> agere poterant et frustra laborabant, fecit Raimundus comes de Sancto Aegidio fieri quoddam ligneum castrum

<sup>20</sup> Hanc ciuitatem *C* obsederunt Franci *C* <sup>om.</sup> obsessam *C* <sup>21</sup> in qua et ipsi postea *C* fuerunt obsessi *C* <sup>22</sup> per <sup>23</sup> IIII hebdomadas (ebdomadas *C*) *C* *HaR* <sup>24</sup> Sed tamen *C* <sup>25</sup> Christianis Dei *HaR*: et servis Dei *C* requieuimus in pace in ea *C* <sup>26</sup> *om.* in Antiochia *C*

**XXXIII.** <sup>1</sup> decessit *C* <sup>3</sup> et venit *C* <sup>7</sup> et aliorum *HaR* <sup>8</sup> eamque *C* <sup>om.</sup> comes *C* <sup>om.</sup> in crastinum *E* <sup>9</sup> invasit. Non *C* <sup>10</sup> applicuit ad eos *C*: applicatus est *Ha* <sup>15-16</sup> cum autem nichil agere possent sed frustra laborarent *C* <sup>17</sup> Sancti Aegidii *ER*

forte et altum. Quod castrum ingeniatum et aedificatum erat super quatuor rotas, super quod stabant plures 20 milites et Euuardus venator, tubam fortiter sonans; subter vero armati milites erant, qui deduxerunt castrum vsque prope vrbis murum iuxta turrim quan-  
dam. Quod videns gens pagana, statim fecerunt instru-  
mentum quo iactabant maximos lapides super castrum,  
25 ita vt pene nostros milites occiderent. Iaciebant quo-  
que Graecos ignes super castrum, putantes illud ardere et deuastari. Sed Deus omnipotens noluit, vt castrum arderet hac vice; supereminebat vero omnes muros ciuitatis. Milites igitur nostri qui erant in superiori  
30 solario, videlicet Wilhelmus de Monte Pislerio et alii multi, iactabant immensos lapides super illos qui stabant in muro vrbis, et ita percutiebant eos super clipeos, vt clipeus et inimicus caderent deorsum in ciuitatem in mortem. Ita faciebant isti, alii vero tene-  
35 bant in hastis honorabilia signa, et cum lanceis et hamis ferreis putabant eos trahere ad se, et sic praelati sunt vsque ad vesperam. Retro castrum stabant presbyteri, clerici, sacris vestibus induti, orantes et obsecrantes Deum, vt suum defenderet populum et Christianitatem  
40 exaltaret ac paganismum deponeret. In alia vero parte certabant nostri milites cotidie cum illis, erigentes scalas ad murum vrbis; sed virtus paganorum erat tanta, vt nihil proficere nostri possent. Tamen Gulferius de

20 Evrardus *HaR*: Ebrardus *Tud* tuba *ER* 22 muris  
 C 23 *om.* fecerunt *C* 23-24 Instrumentum quoddam *C*  
 25 *om.* ita *C* 26 comburere *C* 27 devastare *CER*  
 27-28 ut illud hac vice combureretur *C* 28 superemine-  
 bat autem *C* enim *Ha* omnibus muris *C* 29 deni-  
 que nostri *C* 30 solatio *E* scilicet *B* 31 *om.* super illos *C*  
 32 erant stantes super murum *C* *om.* urbis *C* 36 *om.* ferreis  
*C* conabantur illos ad se trahere sicque *C* 38 cleri  
*B*: et clerici *C* 41 ille *C* 42 exercitus paganorum *C*  
 43 *om.* nostri *C*

Daturre primus ascendit per scalam in murum, sed statim fuit fracta scala pro multitudine aliorum ; tamen 45 ascendit ipse cum aliquantis supra murum ; illi autem qui ascendebant, expediebant circa illos murum. Alii quoque inuenerunt aliam scalam, erexeruntque eam festinanter ad murum, et ascenderunt per eam multi milites et pedites, statimque ascenderunt super murum. 50 Saraceni igitur tam robuste inuaserunt illos per murum et per terram sagittando et spiculando cominus cum suis lanceis, vt multi ex nostris timore perterriti demitterent se per murum. Tamdiu vero illi prudentissimi viri qui remanserant in muro sufferebant illorum persecutionem, 55 quamdiu alii, qui subter castrum erant, foderunt murum vrbis. Videntes vero Saraceni quod nostri fodissent murum, statim timore perterriti inierunt fugam in ciuitatem. Hoc totum factum est in die Sabbati, ad horam vesperi, occidente sole, vndeclima die, intrante 60 Decembri. Boamundus igitur fecit per interpretem loqui Saracenis maioribus, vt ipsi cum suis mulieribus et infantibus aliisque substantiis mitterent se in vnum palatium, quod est supra portam, ipseque defenderet eos de mortali sententia. Intrauerunt vero omnes nostri 65 in ciuitatem et quicquid boni inuenerunt in domibus et foveis, hoc vnuquisque ad suum continebat proprium.

44 super murum *C* : in murum *HaTud* *om.* sed *ER* 45  
*statimque ER* 45 multitudine ascendentium post illum *C*  
 45-46 ascenderunt tamen aliqui cum eo *C* 46 murum : *add.*  
 Illi autem (itaque *C*) qui ascendebant (ascenderant *BC*), expediebant circa illos murum *BCERHa* : *om.* illi autem . . . murum *G* (*Bongars*) 48 erexerunt *ER* illam *C* 50 *om.* pedites *C* muram pedites *C* 51 autem tam *C* et per *ER* 53 *om.* timore *CE* dimitterent *C* 54 super murum *CER* Illi vero *C*  
 55 remanserunt *C* super murum tamdiu sustinuerunt *C* 56  
 quousque alii *C* effoderunt *C* 57 effodissent *C* 58  
*om.* murum *E* *om.* statim *C* 59 civitate *E* 61 porro  
 Boamundus *C* *om.* igitur *C* per interpretem fecit *CER* 63  
 et filiis *C* 64 illos *C* 65 itaque *C* *om.* omnes *C*  
 67 in foveis *HaR* 67-68 retinebat ad suum opus. Facto *C*

Facto autem die, vbiunque reperiebant quenquam illorum, siue masculum siue foeminam, occidebant.  
 70 Nullus angulus ciuitatis deerat vacuus Saracenorum cadaueribus, vixque poterat aliquis per vias ire ciuitatis, nisi calcando super Saracenorum cadauera. Boamundus denique illos quos iusserat in palatium intrare apprehendit, illisque abstulit omnia quae habebant, videlicet 75 aurum, argentum, aliaque ornamenta; alios vero fecit occidi, alios autem iussit conduci ad vendendum Antiochiae. Mora autem Francorum fuit in illa vrbe per vnum mensem et quatuor dies, in qua fuit mortuus Oriensis episcopus. Fuerunt ibi ex nostris qui illic non 80 inuenierunt sicuti opus eis erat, tantum ex longa mora, quantum ex distinctione famis, quia foris nequierant aliquid inuenire ad capiendum; sed scindebant corpora mortuorum, eo quod in ventribus eorum inueniebant bisanteos reconditos; alii vero cedebant carnes eorum 85 per frusta, et coquebant ad manducandum.

1098 **XXXIII.** Boamundus autem non potuit apud comitem S. Aegidii concordari super id quod petebat, 1099 iratusque reuersus est Antiochiam. Comes igitur Raimundus, non diu moratus, mandauit per suos legatos 5 Antiochiae, duci Godefrido et Flandrensi comiti ac Roberto Nortmanno et Boamundo, vt ipsi venirent ad Ruiam ciuitatem, loqui cum eo. Veneruntque illuc omnes seniores, feceruntque concilium quomodo honeste

68 ubicunque invenerunt C 69 occidere C 70 Saracenorum C 70-71 erat vacuus cadaveribus illorum C 71 quis C 72 om. calcando C mortuorum cadavera C 75 et alios quidem C 76 alios vero C deduci C 76-77 in Antiochiam BER: Antiochiam ad vendendum C 79 Fuerunt quidam C 80-81 opus illis esset tam . . . quam C om. ex E 81 fame C 82 scindebant autem C 83 om. eorum E 85 coquentes manducabant C

**XXXIII.** 1 om. autem CER 3 Comes autem CER 6 Nortmanniae ER: Normannorum C om. ipsi C 7 Venerunt igitur C 8 et tenuerunt consilium C et fecerunt Ha: et concilium fecerunt Tud

possent tenere viam S. Sepulcri, pro qua moti sunt, et  
huc vsque peruentum sit. Nequiuerunt concordare 10  
Boamundum cum Raimundo, nisi Raimundus comes  
Antiochiam redderet ei. Noluit comes ad hoc assentire,  
pro fiducia quam fecerat imperatori. Comites denique  
et dux reuersi sunt in Antiochiam unam cum Boamundo.  
Comes vero Raimundus reuersus est ad Marram, vbi 15  
peregrini erant; mandauit quoque suis militibus  
honestare palatium et castellum quod erat supra portam  
pontis ciuitatis. Videns autem Raimundus quod nullus  
seniorum voluisset, causa eius, ire in viam S. Sepulcri,  
exiuit nudis pedibus de Marra decima tertia die intrante 20  
Ianuario, et peruenit vsque Capharda, fuitque ibi  
per tres dies. Illic adiunxit se comes Normanniae comiti  
Raimundo. Rex autem Caesareae multotiens manda-  
uerat per suos nuntios comiti Marrae et Caphardae, quod  
cum eo pacem vellet habere et de suo precium ei daret 25  
et Christianos peregrinos diligenter fiduciamque faceret,  
quia quantum continet eius imperium peregrinis non  
esset offendiculum, et mercatum de equis et de corporali-  
bus alimentis daret gaudenter. Exierunt autem nostri  
et venerunt hospitari iuxta Cesaream, super fluuim 30  
Farfar. Cumque vidisset rex Cesareae contubernium  
Francorum tam prope ciuitatem hospitatum esse,  
doluit animo, et iussit illis deuetari mercatum, nisi

9 potuerint C moti fuerant C 10 hucusque C per-  
uentum fuerat C 11 cum Ramundo Boamundum C  
om. comes B 12 illi Antiochiam C: Antiochiam redderet  
ei B assentiri C 13 propter fiduciam C Comites  
namque ER 14 sunt Antiochiam CER 15 Raimun-  
dus Sancti Egidii rediit ad C 17 super C 17-18  
(portam pontis *HaRTud*) portam ciuitatis G (*Bongars*) 19  
ipsius causa vellet ire C 21 ad Caphardam C 22 nobilis-  
simus comes Normanniae (Nortmanniae ER): Robertus (Rotber-  
tus ER) CER 24 suos legatos C 25 illi daret  
C 29 libenter daret C Exierunt igitur C 32  
ciuitatem habitatum C

discederent a ciuitatis confinio. Crastina vero die misit  
 35 cum illis duos Turcos, suos videlicet nuntios, qui eis  
 monstrarent fluminis vadum, eosque conducerent, ad  
 capiendum vbi inuenire potuissent. Denique venerunt  
 in vallem quandam subter castrum quoddam, ibi  
 depraedati sunt plus quam quinque animalium millia,  
 40 et satis frumenti atque alia bona, vnde valde fuit  
 refecta Christi militia. Tamen illud castrum reddidit  
 se comiti, eique dedit equos et aurum purissimum, et  
 iurauerunt sua lege quod peregrinis exinde nil fieret  
 mali; fuimusque ibi per quinque dies. Egressi etenim  
 45 inde peruenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam  
 Arabum castrum. Exiuit igitur dominus castri et con-  
 cordatus est cum comite. Exeentes vero inde perue-  
 nimus ad quandam ciuitatem pulcherrimam et omnibus  
 bonis refertam in quadam valle sitam nomine Kephaliam.  
 50 Habitatores vero illius, audientes Francos venisse,  
 dimiserunt vrbum et hortos plenos oleribus et domos  
 plenas alimentis corporalibus, et fugerunt. Tertia die  
 egressi ab illa vrbe, transiuiimus per altam et immensam  
 montaneam et intrauiimus in vallem de Sem, in qua erat  
 55 maxima vbertas omnibus bonis; fuimusque ibi per dies  
 fere quindecim. Hic prope nos erat quoddam castrum,  
 in quo erat congregata maxima paganorum multitudo.  
 Quod castrum aggressi sunt nostri, idque fortiter  
 superassent, nisi Saraceni iactassent foras immensas tur-

35 legatos C      36 demonstrarent ER      37 invenire possent  
 HaR      38 quoddam castrum Ha: ad quoddam C      ibique  
 HaTud: ibique que C      42 deditque illi C      43-44 nihil  
 deinceps facerent mali C      44 om. etenim C      46  
 aliud castrum C: om. Arabum E      Exiuitque C      om. igitur C  
 49 refectam ER      50 Habitatores autem C      51 ortos B  
 52 omnibus alimentis C      Tertia vero C      53 egressi ex C  
 om. transivimus CE      54 montanam intravimus C      om. in B  
 vallem de Lem G (Bongars): vallem de Sem R: densam E: desen  
 C: vallem Desem Ha: in vallem Dessem Tud (codd. ACD): in  
 vallem de Issem Tud (codd. BE)      55 omnium bonorum CER  
 59 foris C

mas animalium; reuersi sunt nostri deferentes omnia 60 bona ad sua tentoria. Summo autem diluculo collegerunt nostri suos papiliones et venerunt obsidere idem castrum, ibique putabant extendere tentoria, sed gens pagana omnino dedit sese fugae ac dimiserunt castrum vacuum. Intrantes autem nostri inuenerunt ibi omnem abundan- 65 tiam frumenti, vini, farinae, olei et quicquid eis opus erat. Illic deuotissime celebrauimus festiuitatem Purificationis Sanctae Mariae, veneruntque illuc nuntii de Camela ciuitate. Rex namque illius mandauit comiti equos, aurum, et pactus est cum eo quod Christianos nullo 70 modo offenderet, sed eos diligenter et honoraret. Rex autem Tripolis mandauit comiti, quoniam cum eo fideliter pactum iniret et amicitiam haberet, si ei placeret, misitque illi equos decem, et quatuor mulas, et aurum. Sed comes ait nullo modo cum eo pacem se recipere, nisi 75 ille Christianus efficeretur. Exeentes autem de optima valle, peruenimus ad quoddam castrum quod dicitur Archae, in die lunae, scilicet secunda feria, mediante Februario; circa quod tentoria detendimus. Quod castrum plenum erat innumerabili gente paganorum; 80 videlicet Turcorum, Saracenorum, Arabum, Publicanorum; mirabiliter munierunt castrum illud, et defendebant se fortiter. Tunc exeentes quatuordecim ex nostris militibus ierunt contra Tripolim vrbem, quae erat

60 sunt igitur *C* 61 colligerunt *C* 63 putabant-  
que ibi sua figere tentoria *C* 64 dedit se *HaR* 65 In-  
trantes itaque nostri in illud *C* 66 quicquid illis *C* om.  
opus *C* 68 beate Marie *C* legati *C* 69 transmisit comiti *C*  
70 et aurum *C* 71 offendet *E* 71-72 Rex autem  
Tripoli *B* 74 misitque equos *E* 75 nullatenus se pacem  
cum illo facere *C* 75-76 nisi Christianus *C* 76 Euntes *ER*  
de eadem *C* 77 cui nomen *C* 79 tetendimus *HaR*: ten-  
toria fixerant *Tud* 79-80 Erat autem plenum *C*: om. cas-  
trum *CER*: erat plenum *ER* 81-82 Publicanorum paga-  
norum *BER* 82 et qui (qui *CHA*) mirabiliter munierunt  
(munierant *C*) illud *BCER* 82-83 seque fortiter defendebant *C*

85 secus nos. Isti quatuordecim inuenerunt circa sexaginta Turcos et alios quosdam, qui habebant ante se collectos homines et animalia plus quam mille quingenta. Qui signo crucis muniti inuaserunt eos, et Deo iuuante mirabiliter superauerunt illos et occiderunt sex ex illis,  
 90 et apprehenderunt sex equos. De exercitu vero Raimundi comitis exierunt Raimundus Piletus et Raimundus vicecomes de Tentoria, veneruntque ante Tortosam ciuitatem et fortiter aggrediuntur illam, quae nimis erat munita multitudine paganorum. Sero autem iam facto,  
 95 secesserunt in quandam angulum, ibique hospitati sunt, feceruntque innumerabiles ignes, quasi tota hostis esset ibi. Pagani vero timore perterriti nocte latenter fugerunt et dimiserunt ciuitatem plenam omnibus bonis, quae etiam valde optimum portum secus mare in se  
 100 retinet. Crastina autem die venerunt nostri, vt vndeque inuaderent illam, inueneruntque illam vacuam, et intrantes habitauerunt in ea vsque dum obsessio esset ante vrbum Archae. Est prope istam alia vrbs quae dicitur Maraclea; amiralius qui eam regebat pactus  
 105 est cum nostris, et misit nostros in ciuitatem nostraque vexilla.

1099 **XXXV.** Dux quoque Godefridus, et Boamundus, Flandrensisque comes venerunt vsque ad Lichiam ciuitatem. Disseparauit enim se Boamundus ab eis et reuersus est Antiochiam. Illi vero venerunt et obsederunt

88-89 *om.* Deo . . . illos et *ER* 89-90 superauerunt et apprehenderunt sex ex illis et occiderunt sex equos quos ceperunt *C*: illis apprehenderunt (*om.* et) *B* 92 ad tortosam *C* 93 aggressi sunt *C* erat autem nimis *C* 94 Sero itaque *C* 96 ita ut tota *B* 96-97 ibi adesset *C* 98 dimittentes *C* 100 in crastino *om.* autem die *C* 101 *om.* illam *CER* 102 hospitati sunt in ea *CER* quamdiu *om.* dum *C* obsidio *CER* fuit *C* 103 Est autem *C* 104 Maraclea. Cuius admiralius *C* *om.* qui eam regebat *C* 105 recepit nostros *C* et nostra *ER*  
**XXXV.** 3 autem se *C* 4 obsiderunt *C* .

quandam vrbem cui nomen Gibellum. Audiens itaque Raimundus, comes de S. Aegidio, quod innumeralis paganorum gens rueret super nos ad certum bellum, illico consilium habuit cum suis, vt mandet senioribus qui sunt in obsidione Gibelli, quatinus eis subuenirent. Quod illi audientes statim pacti sunt cum ammiralio, facientes pacem cum eo, et acceperunt equos et aurum, dimiseruntque vrbem venientes ad nos in adiutorium. Sed illi non venerunt ad bellum contra nos. Itaque comites praedicti hospitati sunt vltra flumen, ibique obsederunt castrum illud. Non multo post equitauerunt nostri contra Tripolim inueneruntque extra ciuitatem Turcos, Arabes et Sarracenos, quos inuaserunt nostri et miserunt eos in fugam et occiderunt maximam partem nobilium vrbis. Tanta fuit paganorum occisio et sanguinis effusio, vt etiam aqua quae in ciuitate fluebat, videretur rubere et fluere in cisternas eorum; vnde valde fuerunt tristes alii dolentesque. Iam vero erant tanto timore perterriti, vt nullus eorum auderet exire extra ciuitatis portam. Alia vero die equitauerunt vltra Desem, et inuenerunt boues et oves et asinos, multaque animalia; camelos quoque depredati sunt, fere tria millia. Obsedimus vero castrum supradictum per tres menses, minus vna die; ibique Pascha Domini celebrauimus IV. Idus Aprilis. Naves quippe nostrae venerunt prope nos in quendam portum, quamdui fuimus in illa obsidione, deferentes maximum mercatum, scilicet frumentum,

5-6 Audiens autem C 6 Sancti Aegidii ER 8 quod C  
 mandaret CER 8-9 qui erant C 9 utei obviam venirent.  
 quo illi audito C 11 ab illo equos C 12 dimittentesque  
 C 13 om. Sed C illi vero de  
 quibus audieramus C 17 invadentes C: tenuerunt E 17-18  
 om. nostri et C 18 om. eos C 19. partem C 19 Tantoque  
 C 20 ut aqua E 21 cisternas Civium C 21-22 iidem  
 ciues valde tristes dolentesque fuerunt C: om. alii ER om.  
 erant ER 25-26 aliaque animalia multa C om. sunt C  
 27 Obsedimus itaque C

vinum et carnem et caseum et hordeum et oleum, vnde maxima vbertas fuit in tota expeditione. In illa denique obsidione feliciter acceperunt martyrium plures 35 ex nostris, videlicet Anselmus de Riboatmont, Willhelmus Picardus, et alii plures quos ignoro. Rex quoque Tripolis saepe nuntios mittebat senioribus, vt dimitterent castrum, et cum eo concordarentur. Audientes itaque nostri hoc, scilicet et dux Godefridus et Raimundus 40 comes S. Aegidii, ac Rotbertus Normannus, Flandrensis-que comes, videntesque nouos fructus properasse, quia in medio Martio comedebamus nouellas fabas, medio quoque Aprili frumentum, consiliati sunt nostri dicentes: 'Bonum valde esse Hierosolitanum iter ex- plere cum nouis fructibus.'

1099 **XXXVI.** Discessimus igitur a castro et peruenimus Tripolim in sexta feria, decimo tertio die intrante Maio, ibique fuimus per tres dies. Tandem concordatus est rex Tripolis cum senioribus, illisque continuo dissoluit 5 plusquam trecentos peregrinos, qui illic capti erant, deditque illis quindecim milia bisanteos, et quindecim equos magni pretii; dedit etiam nobis magnum mercatum equorum, asinorum, omniumque bonorum, vnde nimis ditata est omnis Christi militia. Pactus est vero 10 cum illis, quia si bellum quod eis Ammiralius Babyloniae parabat, possent deuincere et Hierusalem apprehendere,

32 carnem caseum C 33 In eadem C 35 Robodimonte  
 ER: Rybodimonte C: Ribomont Ha: Risbemundus, Risbemund Tud (codd. BE) 36 om. plures C 36-39 Porro rex  
 Tripolis sepe mittebat ad seniores rogans ut castrum dimitterent et cum eo concordiam facerent. Quod audientes nostri scilicet dux C: om. nostri B 39 scilicet dux B 40 om. S. Aegidii ER ac inclitusque (Inclitus que C) comes (miles Robertus C) CER Nortmanniae ER 40-41 et comes Flandrensis C 41 propinquasse C 43 om. nostri C

**XXXVI. 2** Tripolim sexta ER 5 illic in vinculis tenebantur necnon et quindecim C 6 bisanteorum ER: bizanteos C 7 pretii dedit eis, donavit etiam nobis C 9 est etiam C

ille Christianus efficeretur, terramque ab eis recognosceret, atque tali modo factum est placitum. Nos autem discessimus ab vrbe in secunda feria mensis Maii, transiuiimusque per viam artam et arduam tota die ac nocte <sup>15</sup> et peruenimus ad castrum cui nomen Bethelon ; deinde ad vrbum quae dicitur Zebari, secus mare, in qua passi sumus nimiam sitim, et sic defessi peruenimus ad flumen, cui nomen Braym. Deinde transiuiimus nocte ac die Ascensionis Domini per montem, in quo est via nimis <sup>20</sup> angusta, et illic putauimus inimicos insidiantes nobis inuenire, sed Deo annuente, nullus eorum audebat properare ante nos. Nostri denique milites, praecedentes nos, liberauerunt ante nos viam illam, et applicuimus ad ciuitatem iuxta mare quae dicitur Baruth, et inde <sup>25</sup> venimus ad aliam vrbum quae vocatur Sagitta, de hinc ad aliam, quae dicitur Sur, et de Sur ad Acram ciuitatem. De Acra vero venimus ad castrum cui nomen Cayphas, ac deinceps hospitati sumus iuxta Caesaream, ibique celebrauimus Pentecosten, tertia die, exeunte Maio. <sup>30</sup> Denique venimus ad vrbum Ramola, quam Saraceni dimiserant vacuam, propter metum Francorum, iuxta quam erat honorabilis ecclesia in qua requieuit preciosissimum S. Georgii corpus, quia illic a perfidis paganis pro Christi nomine feliciter martyrium suscepit. Ibi <sup>35</sup> consiliati sunt nostri maiores, vt illic eligerent episcopum, qui hanc custodiret et erigeret ecclesiam, cui suas dederunt decimas, et auro argentoque ditauerunt, et

12 ipse efficeretur christianus C <sup>13</sup> 14 urbe secunda ER  
 15 quotidie et tota nocte ER <sup>16</sup> quoddam castrum C <sup>17</sup>  
 Zebar BER <sup>18</sup> magnam sitim C <sup>19</sup> die ac nocte  
 B <sup>20</sup> erat via C <sup>21</sup> ibique C <sup>22</sup> nostros C :  
 nobis insidiantes CER <sup>23</sup> om. urbem C <sup>24</sup> dicitur ER: nomine  
 om. quae C <sup>25</sup> vocatur ER <sup>26</sup> autem venimus C : om. vero  
 ER <sup>27</sup> Deinde Ha: Inde Tud <sup>28</sup> ab urbem R <sup>29</sup> om.  
 martyrium C <sup>30</sup> Ibique ER <sup>31</sup> om. illic C <sup>32</sup> necnon et C

equis ac animalibus aliis, quo deuote et honeste viueret  
 40 cum illis qui cum eo essent.

1099 **XXXVII.** Remansit ipse illic cum gaudio ; nos autem laetantes et exultantes, vsque ad ciuitatem Hierusalem peruenimus, feria tertia, octauo Idus Iunii, eamque mirabiliter obsedimus. Robertus namque Nor-  
 5 manus eam obsedit a septentrione, iuxta S. Stephani protomartyris ecclesiam, vbi gaudenter lapidatus est pro nomine Christi ; iuxta eum Rotbertus, Flandrensis comes. Ab occidente vero obsedit eam dux Godefridus et Tancredus. A meridie obsedit eam comes S.  
 10 Aegidii, scilicet in monte Sion, circa ecclesiam S. Mariae Matris Domini, vbi Dominus cum suis caenauit discipulis. Tertia vero die, ex nostris, scilicet Raimundus Piletus et Raimundus de Taurina et alii plures causa praeliandi inuenerunt bis centum Arabes, et praeliati sunt Christi  
 15 milites contra illos incredulos, et Deo adiuuante, fortiter illos superauerunt, et occiderunt multos ex eis, et apprehenderunt triginta equos. Secunda vero veniente feria, aggredimur fortissime ciuitatem tam mirabiliter, vt si scalae fuissent paratae, in nostra fuisset ciuitas manu.  
 20 Tamen minorem strauimus murum, et vnam scalam ereximus ad maiorem murum, super quam ascendebant nostri milites et cominus percutiebant Sarracenos suis ensibus et lanceis, et defensores ciuitatis ; fueruntque

39 et aliis animalibus C      40 cum hiis C      secum C

**XXXVII.** 1 ibi cum gaudio C      1-2 gaudio. Capitulum  
 XXXVII. Nos autem *Ha* 2 om. civitatem C      4-5 piissimus electusque miles (om. miles *ER*) : Robertus, vir nobilissimus, Normannie (Nortmannorum *ER*) : Comes, cum suo praeclaro exercitu obsedit eam *CER*      5 beatissimi C      6 om. protomartyris C      om. gaudenter *CER*      7 om. eum *B* : quem *CER*      8 om. comes *ER*      add. illam obsedi C : obsedit eam *ER*      12 om. ex nostris, scilicet C      13 plures ex nostris *CER*      14 sequestraverunt se ab exercitu inveneruntque *CER*      *CCtos* C      illos Arabes C      15 iuvante *CER*      16 superati sunt eos occideruntque C      17 apprehendere C      21 super quam *CER*

mortui multi ex nostris, sed plures ex illis. In illa autem  
 obsidione panes ad emendum inuenire non poteramus, 25  
 fere per spatium dierum decem, donec venit nuntius  
 nostrarum nauium ; et in nimia pressura sitis detenti  
 fuimus, ita vt per nimium terrorem et pauorem per sex  
 millia nostros potaremus equos et alia animalia. Syloa  
 namque fons, qui est ad radicem montis Syon, sustinebat 30  
 nos, sed tamen cara vendebatur aqua inter nos. Post-  
 quam enim venit nuntius nostrarum nauium, acceperunt  
 inter se nostri seniores consilium, quemadmodum mitte-  
 rent milites qui fideliter custodirent homines et naues  
 in portu Iaphiae. Summo autem diluculo, exierunt 35  
 centum milites de exercitu Raimundi, comitis S. Aegidii,  
 Raimundus Pileus, et Achardus de Mommellou, et  
 Wilhelmus de Sabra, et ibant cum fiducia ad portum.  
 Diuiserunt denique se triginta milites ex nostris ab  
 aliis, et inuenerunt septingentos Arabes et Turcos et 40  
 Sarracenos, de exercitu ammirauisi, quos inuaserunt  
 fortiter Christi milites ; sed tam magna fuit virtus  
 illorum super nostros, vt vndique circumcingerent illos,  
 et occiderunt Achardum de Mommellou, et pauperes  
 homines pedites. Cum autem tenerent nostros iam 45  
 inclusos, qui omnes putabant mori, venit alias quidam  
 nuntius, dicens Raimundo Pileo : ‘Quid hic astas cum  
 his militibus ? Ecce omnes nostri in nimia districione  
 Arabum et Turcorum et Sarracenorum sunt, et forsitan  
 in hac hora omnes mortui sunt : succurrite ergo illis, 50  
 succurrite.’ Audientes nostri haec, statim cucurrerunt  
 celeri cursu et festinanter peruererunt vsque ad illos  
 preliando. Paganorum vero gens, videns Christi milites,

28 ita quod C 29 om. nostros B 30 sustentabat C  
 31-32 Postquam autem C 37 scilicet Raimundus C 38  
 et aliis et ibant C 39-40 ex illis C 44 occideruntque C  
 46 aliis B : nuntius quidam (om. alias) C 47 stas CER 48  
 magna ER districione sunt C 49 Saracenorum, et C  
 53 om. preliando C Pagani vero (om. gens) videntes C

diuisit se et fecerunt duo agmina. Nostri autem,  
 55 inuocato Christi nomine, tam acriter inuaserunt illos  
 incredulos, vt quisque miles prosterneret suum. Videntes  
 vero illi quod non possent stare ante Francorum  
 fortitudinem, timore nimio perterriti, verterunt scapulas  
 60 retro, quos nostri persequentes fere per spacia quatuor  
 milium, occiderunt multos ex eis, vnumque retinuerunt  
 viuum, qui noua eis per ordinem diceret; retinuerunt  
 quoque centum et tres equos. In eadem obsidione tanta  
 oppressione sitis fuimus grauati, vt sueremus coria  
 boum et bufalorum in quibus deferebamus aquas fere per  
 65 spaciun sex milliariorum; ex illis quippe vasculis foetida  
 vtebamur aqua, et quantum ex olida aqua et hordaceo  
 pane in nimia districione et afflictione eramus cotidie.  
 Sarraceni namque in cunctis fontibus et aquis latentes  
 insidiabantur nostris, eosque vbique occidebant et  
 70 dilaniabant: animalia quoque secum in suas cauernas  
 et speluncas deducebant.

1099 **XXXVIII.** Tunc seniores nostri ordinauerunt quo-  
 modo possent ingeniare ciuitatem, vt ad adorandum  
 nostri Saluatoris intrarent Sepulcrum. Feceruntque duo  
 5 lignea castra, et alia plura machinamenta. Dux Gode-  
 fridus suum fecit castrum cum machinis, et Raimundus  
 comes similiter, quibus de longinquis terris attrahebant  
 ligna. Sarraceni igitur, videntes nostros facientes has  
 machinas, mirabiliter muniebant ciuitatem et turres

**54** diviserunt se *C*      **55** tum acriter *G* (*Bongars*): tam  
 acriter *Ha R*: tam fortiter *Tud*      **56** *om.* incredulos *C* unus  
 quisque *ER*      **56-57** Videntes igitur *C*: autem *ER*      **59-60**  
 miliariorum spatia *C*      **60** eis omnia *C*      **61** retinue-  
 rent etiam *C*      **64** aquam *C*      **65** se (*sic*) miliariorum  
 spaciun ex talibus autem vasculis *C*      **69** nostri eosque *C*  
**70-71** speluncas et cavernas *C*

**XXXVIII.** **2** *om.* ad *C*      **5** *om.* Raimundus *C*      **6** comes  
 add. S. Egidii *C*      ad quorum opus *C*      attrahebantur *C*  
**7** Porro Saraceni videntes *C*      has facere *C*      **8** munire  
 ceperunt *C*

nocte accrescebant. Videntes autem nostri seniores ex qua parte ciuitas esset magis languida, illuc in quadam 10 nocte Sabbathi deportauerunt nostram machinam et ligneum castrum in orientalem partem. Summo autem diluculo erexerunt ea et aptauerunt et ornauerunt castrum in prima et secunda et tertia feria. Comes namque S. Aegidii a meridiana plaga reficiebat suam 15 machinam. Interea in tanta pressura sitis fuimus districti, vt vnuis homo pro vno denario non posset ad sufficientiam habere aquam aut extinguere sitem suam. Nocte vero ac die, in quarta et quinta feria, mirabiliter aggredimur ciuitatem ex omni parte. Sed antequam 20 inuaderemus eam, ordinauerunt episcopi et sacerdotes praedicando et commonendo omnes, vt processionem Deo in circuitu Hierusalem celebrarent, et orationes atque eleemosynas et ieiunia fideliter facerent. Sexta vero feria, summo mane, vndique aggredimur vrbem, et nihil 25 ei nocere potuimus, eramusque omnes stupefacti ac in nimio pauore. Appropinquante autem hora scilicet in qua Dominus noster Iesus Christus dignatus est pro nobis sufferre patibulum crucis, nostri milites fortiter pugnabant in castello, videlicet dux Godefridus, et 30 comes Eustachius, frater eius. Tunc ascendit quidam miles ex nostris, Letholdus nomine, super murum vrbis. Mox vero vt ascendit, omnes defensores ciuitatis fugerunt per muros et per ciuitatem, nostrique subsecuti persequer- 35 bantur eos occidendo et detruncando vsque ad templum Salomonis; ibique talis occisio fuit, vt nostri in sanguine illorum pedes vsque ad cauillas mitterent. At Raimundus comes a meridie conduxit suum exercitum et

10 illic C 14 dominica et secunda feria ac tertia C 14-15  
 Comes etiam C 17 om. districti C 19 ac quinta C  
 20 urbem C om. ex omni parte C 22 admonendo ER 23  
 orationes et C 24 ac ieiunia C 25 sed nichil C  
 26 stupefacti et C 27 pavore constituti C 33 Mox  
 autem C 34-35 persecuti sunt C

castellum vsque prope murum ; sed inter castellum et  
 40 murum erat quaedam fouea nimis profunda. Tunc consi-  
 liati sunt nostri vt implerent foueam, feceruntque praeco-  
 nari vt si aliquis illam foueam portasset tres petras,  
 vnum haberet denarium. Perdurauit vero haec impletio  
 per tres dies et noctes. Tandem plena fouea, conduxerunt  
 45 castellum iuxta murum. Illi autem qui intus erant  
 mirabiliter praeliabantur cum nostris, igne et lapidibus.  
 Audiens itaque comes quod Franci essent in vrbe, suis  
 dixit hominibus : 'Quid tardatis ? Ecce omnes Franci-  
 genae iam sunt in vrbe.' Ammiralius itaque, qui erat  
 50 in Turri Dauid, reddidit se comiti, eique aperuit portam,  
 vbi peregrini persoluere solebant tributa. Intrantes  
 autem nostri ciuitatem peregrini persequebantur et  
 occidebant Sarracenos vsque ad Templum Salomonis,  
 in quo congregati, dederunt nostris maximum bellum per  
 55 totum diem, ita vt sanguis illorum per totum templum  
 flueret. Tandem superatis paganis, apprehenderunt  
 nostri masculos et foeminas sat in templo, et occiderunt  
 quos voluerunt, et quos voluerunt retinuerunt viuos.  
 Super templum vero Salomonis erat maxima paganorum  
 60 congregatio vtriusque sexus, quibus Tancredus et Gaston  
 de Beert dederunt sua vexilla. Mox cucurrerunt per  
 vniuersam vrbum, capientes aurum et argentum, equos  
 et mulas, domosque plenas omnibus bonis. Venerunt  
 autem omnes nostri gaudentes et prae nimio gaudio plo-  
 65 rantes ad nostri Saluatoris Iesu Sepulcrum adorandum,

39 ad castellum *ER* 40-41 *om.* nimis . . . foveam  
*E* 42 quia si *C* quis *CE* in eandem *C* tres portas  
 deportaret *E* : tres deportaret petras *C* 43 *om.* vero *CER*  
 44 impleta fovea *C* 45 usque ad murum *C* : prope *ER* Porro  
 illi *C* : *om.* autem *C* 47 civitate *ER* 49 Admiralius  
*CER* autem *C* 50 et aperuit ibi *C* 51 persolvebant *ER*  
 51-52 Intrantes itaque nostri ciuitatem *C* : autem ciuitatem  
 nostri *Ha* *om.* peregrini *BC* 55-56 occisorum flueret  
 per totum templum *C* 58 *om.* vivos *B* 59 *om.* vero *ER*  
 61 Bert *C* Moxque *C* cucurrerunt omnes nostri per *C*  
 63 mulos *HaTud* 63-64 Deinde venerunt *C* *om.* autem  
 omnes nostri *C* : *om.* omnes *BER*

et reddiderunt ei capitale debitum. Mane autem facto ascenderunt nostri caute supra tectum templi et inuaserunt Sarracenos masculos et foeminas, decollantes eos nudis ensibus ; alii vero dabant se praecipites in templo. Hoc videns Tancredus iratus est nimis. 7

**XXXIX.** Tunc nostri tenuerunt consilium, vt vnum- 1099  
 quisque faceret eleemosynas cum orationibus, qua- GODE-  
 tinus sibi Deus eligeret quem vellet regnare super FRIDVS  
 alios et regere ciuitatem. Iusserunt quoque Sarracenos Rex  
 mortuos omnes eiici foras prae nimio foetore, quia 5  
 omnis vrbs plena erat illorum cadaueribus, et viui Sarra-  
 ceni trahebant mortuos ante portarum exitus, et ordina-  
 bant montes ex eis quasi essent domos. Tales occisiones  
 de Paganorum gente nullus vnquam audiuit nec vidit,  
 quoniam pyrae erant ordinatae ex eis sicut metae, 10  
 et nemo scit numerum eorum, nisi solus Deus. Fecit  
 vero comes Raimundus conduci ammiralium et alios qui  
 cum eo erant vsque Scalonam, sanos et illaesos. Octauo  
 autem die quo ciuitas fuit capta, elegerunt ducem Gode-  
 fridum principem ciuitatis, qui debellaret paganos, 15  
 et custodiret Christianos. Similiter elegerunt patri-  
 archam quandam sapientissimum et honorabilem virum  
 nomine Arnulfum, in die S. Petri ad Vincula. Haec  
 ciuitas fuit capta a Christianis Dei, decimo quinto die  
 Iulii, in sexta feria. Interea nuntius venit Tancredo 20

66 tributum *CER* 67 ascenderunt caute *C* 69 e templo  
*HaRTud* 70 Quod videns *C*

**XXXIX.** i Hiis itaque gestis tenuerunt seniores consilium *C*  
 3-4 om... ciuitatem *E* 6 fere plena *BCER* *om.* et *C*  
 6-7 Saraceni igitur vivi *C* 7-8 faciebant *CER* 8 inde aggeres *C*  
*om.* ex eis *CER* 8 Tantas cedes *C* 10 essent *C* 11 quorum  
 numerum nemo scit *C* 12 Comes autem Raimundus fecit con-  
 duci *C* 13 usque ad *C* Ascalonam *ER* 13-14 Octavo deni-  
 que *C* 14 postquam civitas *C* 17 *om.* quandam *BCE*  
 18 Arnulphum *C* 19-20 a christianis et servis dei capta ...  
 mensis iulii *C* 20 feria anno ab incarnatione domini  
 m<sup>xcix</sup> indictione vii<sup>a</sup> Pontifice sedem apostolicam papa  
 Urbano Secundo *C* *De* Interea usque ad finem codicis adiunctae  
 sunt lectiones sub lit. *M* legatus *C* ad Tancredem *C*

et comiti Eustachio, vt praepararent se et pergerent ad recipiendam Neopolitanam vrbem. Exierunt illi et duxerunt secum multos milites et pedones et peruererunt ad vrbem: habitatores vero illius reddiderunt se illico.

25 Denuo mandauit illis dux, vt cito venirent ad bellum quod nobis ammirauisus Babyloniae praeparat vrbis Scalonae. Illi autem festinando intrauerunt montaneam, quaerentes Sarracenorum bella, et venerunt Cesaream. Itaque venientes illi iuxta mare ad vrbem Ramore,

30 illic inuenerunt multos Arabes, qui praecursores erant belli. Quos nostri persequentes, apprehenderunt plures ex eis, qui dixerunt omnia belli noua, vbi essent et quot essent aut vbi bellare disponerent contra Christianos. Quod audiens Tancredus, statim misit nuntium Hierusalem duci Godefrido et patriarchae omnibusque principibus, dicens: 'Sciatis quod nobis paratum est bellum Scalonae; venite ergo festinanter cum omni virtute quam habere poteritis.' Tunc iussit dux submoneri omnes, vt fideliter irent praeparati Scalonam

35 40 obuiam inimicis nostris. Ipse vero cum patriarcha et Rotberto Flandrensi comite exiuit de vrbte in feria tertia, et Marturanensis episcopus cum eis. Comes vero S. Aegidii ac Rotbertus Normannus dixerunt se non

21 ad comitem Eustachium dicens eis ut properanter pergerent  
 C 22 recipiendum C urbem neapolim M Exierunt  
 igitur C 23 ducentes secus C om. multos ER pedites  
 C 25 Dux autem mandavit illis ut C: dux Godefridus  
 qui et rex Iherusalem M 26 om. nobis HaR praeparabat  
 illis apud C om. urbi CM 27 Quo auditio om. Illi autem C  
 festinanter C 29 venientes iuxta CM 31 Quos persequentes  
 C 32 dixerunt eis C 33 disposuissent C 34 Quo  
 cognito C om. nuntium E: legatum C 36 Sciat, pro  
 certo quia C 36-37 paratur bellum apud Ascalonam C  
 37 venite igitur om. festinanter C 38-39 submoveri  
 ER Summonere C commoneri M 39 pergeremus  
 parati C 41 om. Roberto C 41-42 in IIII<sup>a</sup> feria C 42  
 Comes autem C 43 et C Robertus Normannorum princeps  
 CER: Normannus princeps B

exituros, nisi certum bellum scirent. Iusserunt ergo militibus suis ut pergerent videre, si bellum vere esset, <sup>45</sup> et reuerterentur quantocius, quia ipsi mox essent parati ire. Ierunt illi, videruntque bellum, et cito renuntiauerunt se vidisse oculis suis. Continuo dux, apprehenso Marturanensi episcopo, mandauit Hierusalem, quo milites qui ibi erant praeparent se, et veniant ad bellum. <sup>50</sup> Quarta vero feria, illi principes exierunt et militauerunt ad bellum. Episcopus vero Marturanensis rediit reportans verba missa patriarchae et duci, exieruntque Sarraceni et obuiauerunt ei, et apprehensum secum duxerunt. Petrus vero heremita remansit Hierusalem <sup>55</sup> ordinando et praecipiendo Graecis et Latinis atque clericis, ut fideliter Deo processionem celebrent, et orationes eleemosinasque faciant, ut Deus populo suo victoriam daret. Clerici namque et presbyteri, induiti sacris vestibus, ad templum Domini conduxere pro- <sup>60</sup> cessionem, missas et orationes decantantes, ut suum defenderet populum. Denique patriarcha et episcopi alii- que seniores congregati sunt ad flumen, quod est ex hac parte Scalonae. Illic multa animalia boum, came- lorum, ouium atque omnium bonorum depraedati sunt. <sup>65</sup> Venerunt autem Arabes fere trecenti, irrueruntque nostri

**45** viderent *C*      **46-47** parati venire *CERM*      **47**  
 Ierunt ergo *C*      et viderunt *Ha*: viderunt (videruntque *C*)  
 hostes *CER*      bellum paratum *M*      **48** se illos *E*      Denique  
 dux *C* assumpto *C*      **50** ibi erat *C*      *om.* se *C*      venirent *C*  
**51-52** *om.* Quarta . . . bellum *CER*      **52** Episcopus igitur *C*  
**52-55** Marturanensis veniebat ferens ducis (ducens[*sic*]) mandata  
 militibus qui erant Ierosolimis. Cui obviam fuerunt sarraceni  
 et apprehenderunt illum duxeruntque secum. Quarta autem feria  
 exierunt supradicti principes et equitaverunt ad bellum. Porro  
 Petrus heremita *C*      **53-54** exierunt Saraceni *ER*      **55-6** in  
 ierusalem ordinans et precipiens Grecis *C*      **57** fiducialiter *ER*  
 celebrarent processionem et ut *C*: celebrarent *HaR*      **58**  
 facerent *HaR*      quatinus Deus *C*      **59** *om.* namque *BERM*:  
 igitur *C*      **60-61** conduxerunt processionem ad templum  
 domini missas decantantes et orationes facientes ut deus suum  
*C*      **62-3** ceterique *C*      clericis et seniores *ER*      **64** Ubi  
 etiam *C*: illicque *M*      **66** *om.* Arabes *E*

super illos et apprehenderunt duos ex eis, persequentes  
 alios vsque ad eorum exercitum. Sero autem facto,  
 patriarcha fecit praeconari per omnem hostem, vt in  
 70 summo mane cras essent omnes parati ad bellum, ex-  
 communicans, ne vllus homo intenderet ad vlla spolia, do-  
 nec bellum esset factum ; sed eo facto, reuerterentur cum  
 felici gaudio ad accipiendum quicquid eis praedestinatum  
 esset a Domino. Summo vero diluculo, in sexta feria,  
 75 intrauerunt in vallem nimis pulchra, secus littus maris, in in-  
 qua suas ordinauerunt acies. Dux instruxit suam aciem,  
 et comes Nortmanniae suam, comes S. Aegidii suam,  
 comes Flandrensis suam, comes Eustachius suam, Tan-  
 credus et Gaston suam ; ordinauerunt quoque pedites  
 80 et sagittarios qui praecederent milites, et sic ordina-  
 uerunt omnia ; statimque coeperunt militare in nomine  
 domini nostri Iesu Christi. In sinistra vero parte fuit  
 dux Godefridus cum sua acie ; comesque S. Aegidii equi-  
 taut in iuxta mare in dextera parte ; comes Normanniae  
 85 et comes Flandrensis et Tancredus omnesque alii equita-  
 bant in medio. Tunc nostri coeperunt paulatim ambulare.  
 Pagani vero stabant parati ad bellum. Vnusquisque  
 suum habebat vasculum pendens collo, ex quibus pota-  
 rent persequentes nos ; sed illis non licuit, gratia Dei.  
 90 Comes autem de Normannia, cernens ammirauissi

68 exercitum illorum *C* 69 universam hostem *C* 70  
 crastino summo *C* om. cras *C* 71 si ullus *C* intentus esset  
 ad aliqua *C* 72 esset pactum *C* 73 ad capiendum *HaR*  
 74 Summo autem *ER* sexta scilicet *C* 75 vallem quam-  
 dam *C* 76 ibique struxerunt acias *C* : struxerunt *ER*  
 76-77 om. aciem, et *CER* 77 preclarus comes Normannorum  
 (Nortmannorum *R* Robertus *C*) *CER* 79 ordinaverunt  
 quippe *ER* 80-81 ordinatis omnibus equitare ceperunt *C*  
 militari ceperunt *ER* : proeliari coeperunt *M* 82 Domini Iesu  
*HaR* (om. nostri) om. vero *CM* 83 sua gente *C* comes  
 vero *C* 84 dextra *Ha* : sinistra *ER* fuit mitissimus Comes  
*C* : mitissimus comes Rotbertus comes *ER* 85 comesque *ER*  
 Tancredus vero et omnes *C* 86 nostri sic *CER* 87 Porro  
 pagani *C* 88 om. suum *E* de collo *C* 89 gratia Dei illis *C* 90  
 Incomparabilis itaque miles scilicet dominus (dominus *C*) Rot-  
 bertus comes Nortmanniae (Robertus Comes Normannie *C*) *CER*

stantarum habere quoddam pomum aureum in summitate hastae, quae erat cooperta argento, ruit vehementer super illum, eumque vulnerauit vsque ad mortem. Ex alia parte, comes Flandrensis nimis acriter illos inuasit. Tancredus igitur impetum fecit per medium tentorium <sup>95</sup> eorum, quod videntes pagani continuo inierunt fugam. Paganorum multitudo erat innumerabilis, numerumque eorum nemo scit, nisi solus Deus. Bella vero erant immensa; sed virtus diuina comitabatur nobiscum tam magna, tam fortis, quod statim superauimus illos. <sup>100</sup> Stabant autem inimici Dei excaecati et stupefacti, ac videntes Christi milites apertis oculis nil videbant et contra Christianos erigere se non audebant, virtute Dei tremefacti: pro nimio timore ascendebant in arbores, in quibus putabant se abscondere; at nostri sagittando et <sup>105</sup> cum lanceis et ensibus occidendo, eos ad terram praecipitabant; alii autem iactabant se in terram, non audentes se erigere contra nos. Nostri igitur illos detruncabant, sicut aliquis detruncat animalia ad macellum. Comes S. Aegidii iuxta mare ex eis occidit sine numero; alii <sup>110</sup> vero se praecipitabant in mare, alii fugiebant huc illucque. Veniens itaque ammirauissus ante ciuitatem, dolens et moerens, lacrymando dixit: 'O Deorum spiritus, quis vnquam vidi vel audiuit talia? Tanta potestas, tanta virtus, tanta militia quae nunquam ab vlla gente fuit <sup>115</sup>

<sup>91</sup> standarum habentem *CEMR* <sup>92</sup> que et ipsa *C* <sup>92-93</sup> argento cooperta vehementi impetu irruit *C* <sup>93</sup> qui hunc ferebat quem et prosternens cum eodem standaro letaliter vulneravit *C*: qui hunc ferebat, quem viriliter prosternens vulneravit *ER* <sup>95</sup> Tancredus vero *CER* <sup>95-96</sup> per media illorum tentoria *C*: per medium tentorium eorum *HaR*: tentoriorum (*sic*) *G* (*Bongars*) <sup>97</sup> Quorum multitudo *CER* <sup>97-98</sup> Nullus enim scit eorum numerum nisi *C* <sup>98</sup> Bella quidem *C* <sup>101</sup> Stabant denique *C*: vero *M* inimici nostri *C* <sup>om.</sup> *Dei B* <sup>102</sup> et videntes *C* <sup>103</sup> virtute divina *C* <sup>104</sup> Prae nimio *HaR*: pro *M* <sup>105</sup> putantes ibi se posse latere *C* <sup>Sed *CER*</sup> <sup>107</sup> precipitabant illos ad terram: alii vero sponte se precipites dabant ad terram *C* <sup>112</sup> admiralus *CER* <sup>Ascalonam *CER*</sup> <sup>113</sup> O Deus *ER* <sup>115</sup> numquam potuit *C*

superata, modo a tantilla gente Christianorum, quod in pugillo potest claudi, est deuicta ! Heu mihi tristis ac dolens ! Quid amplius dicam ? Superatus sum a gente mendica, inermi et pauperrima, quae non habet nisi sac-  
 120 cum et peram. Ipsa modo persequitur gentem Aegyptiacam, quae illi plerunque suas largita est elemosynas, dum olim per omnem nostram patriam mendicarent. Huc conduxi ad conuentionem ducenta millia militum, et video ipsis laxis frenis fugientes per viam Babylonicam,  
 125 et non audent reuerti aduersus gentem Francigenam.

Iuro per Machumet, et per omnia Deorum numina, quod vltierius non retinebo milites conuentione aliqua, quia expulsus sum a gente aduena. Conduxi omnia armorum genera et omnia instrumenta sive machinamenta vt eos  
 130 obsiderem in Hierusalem, et ipsi praeuenerunt me ad bellum, itinere dierum duorum. Vech ! Quid mihi esset, si illuc gentem conduxissem meam ? Heu mihi ! Quid amplius dicam ? Inhonoratus ero semper in terra Babylonica.' Nostri autem acceperunt eius stantarum,  
 135 quod comparauit comes de Normania viginti marchas argenti, et dedit patriarchae in Dei honorem, Sanctique Sepulchri ; ensem vero emit quidam sexaginta bisanteis. Superati sunt denique inimici nostri, Deo annuente. Omnes naues terrarum paganorum ibi aderant ; homines

116 superari *C*      *om.* gente *C*      116-117 *om.* quod . . .  
 claudi *BCERM*      122 *om.* nostram *E*      mendicaret *C*  
 122-123 Hanc conduxi *C*      124 video illos *CERM*      126  
 Machometh *C* : Mahomet *R*      127-128 quoniam expulsus  
*C*      128 aliena et advena *CERM*      129 *om.* omnia *E*  
*om.* instrumenta sive *BCERM*      131-132 *om.* Vech . . . meam  
*BCERM*      132 si illius *Ha*      134-136 Nostri itaque Standarum eiusdem amiralii acceperunt quem inclitus et ab omnibus honorandus miles Robertus Normannorum Comes nobilissimus perempto huius signifero prostaverat, quem ipse redemit xx  
 marchi argenti deditque patriarche *C* : itaque admirallii eiusdem acceperunt standarum quod honorandus miles Rotbertus Nortmannorum nobilissimus perempto huius signifero prostaverat, illud redimens x marchas argenti *ER*      136 argenti dedit *ER* et Sancti *Ha* : Sancti que *ER*      138 sunt itaque *HaR*      139  
*om.* naves *C*      *om.* paganorum *E*

vero qui intus erant, videntes ammirauissum fugientem <sup>140</sup> cum suo exercitu, statim suspenderunt velā et impulerunt se in alta maria. Reuersi sunt nostri ad tentoria eorum, acceperuntque innumera spolia auri et argenti, omniumque bonorum cumula : equos et mulos, asinos et camelos, innumerabiles oves et boues, et instrumenta. Omnes <sup>145</sup> namque montes et colles et omnia plana stabant coperta de multitudine illorum animalium, et inuenerunt armorum cumula ; quae voluerunt, deportauerunt, reliqua igne consumpserunt. Reuersi sunt nostri cum gaudio Hierusalem, deferentes secum omnia bona, <sup>150</sup> scilicet camelos et asinos honustos pane, biscoto et farina et frumento et caseo et pane et oleo et omnibus bonis quae illis necesse erant. Hoc bellum factum est pridie Idus Aug. largiente hoc Domino nostro Iesu Christo : cui est honor et gloria, nunc et semper, et <sup>155</sup> in secula seculorum. Dicat omnis spiritus Amen.

<sup>140</sup> admirantium *CER* <sup>141</sup> om. statim *E* <sup>142</sup> Reversique *C* illorum tentoria *ER* <sup>143</sup> auri, argenti *Ha* <sup>143-145</sup> ac omnium animalium genera omniumque armorum instrumenta *CER* : omniumque animalium genera ac omnium armorum instrumenta *B* : om. cumula . . . boves *BCER* <sup>145-148</sup> om. Omnes . . . armorum cumula *BCERM* <sup>148</sup> asportaverunt *BCERM* <sup>149</sup> combusserunt *C* Redieruntque *CE* om. nostri *C* <sup>151-153</sup> om. scilicet . . . bonis *BCERM* <sup>153</sup> necessaria erant *BCER* actum est *BCERM* <sup>154</sup> om. hoc *CERM* : hec *B* <sup>155</sup> semper per infinita seculorum secula *C* <sup>155-156</sup> Christo fidelibus suis victoriam qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen. *M* : per infinita seculorum secula *ER*

# NOTES

## PREFATORY

BONGARS divides his text into four books and thirty-nine chapters. The editors of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* keep the four books, but subdivide them into fifty-five chapters. Hagenmeyer omits the division into books, but retains the thirty-nine chapters, and adds chapter-headings and numbered sub-sections. The references in the following notes are to chapters and page lines.

The subject-matter of the notes may be supplemented from the general books of reference: Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* ed. Le Prévost (annotated), 1838-55; *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. P. Paris, ii (*Table des Noms*), 1848; von Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2nd. ed., 1881; H. Hagenmeyer, *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Hierosolymita*, 1877 (annotated), *Peter der Eremit*, 1879, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, 1890 (annotated). R. Röhricht, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1901 (annotated). Cf. *Bibliography*, p. 145.

## CHAPTER I. Page 1

3-5. *quis vult . . . sequatur me*: Matt. xvi. 24 (Vulgate). Cf. Mark viii. 34; Luke ix. 23.

5. *motio valida*: *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, ann. 1096 (*Laud*): *Dises geares . . . wearð swiðe mycel styrung geond ealle þas þeode*.

6. *Galliarum regiones*: *Gallia cisalpina* and *Gallia transalpina*. For the Norman of southern Italy, France was 'beyond the Alps'. The Norman of Normandy, Ordericus Vitalis, calls the inhabitants of France *Cisalpini*.

9. *Apostolicus*: the Pope. *L'apostole de Rome* (*Chans. d'Antioche*: Chant I, xxxviii-xxxix).

10. *Urbanus*: Urban II, Otto of Lagny, a Frenchman from Châtillon-sur-Marne. Archdeacon of Rheims, monk and prior of Cluny, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, 1078. Pope, 1088-99.

12-13. *coepitque . . . sermocinari et praedicare*: Council of Clermont, November 18-28, 1095. The Pope spoke at Limoges and Angers early in 1096 and held synods at Tours, in March 1096, and at Nîmes, in July 1096. The famous Clermont address is recorded by Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, and Baudri of Dol, all of whom were present at the Council. Cf. W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Lib. IV, R.S. ii. p. 391 seq.

17-24. *Frates . . . retributio* : Acts ix. 16, xiv. 21 (Vulgate) ;  
 2 Cor. xi. 23-28 ; 2 Tim. i. 8 ; Luke ix. 26, xxi. 15 ; Matt. v. 12.  
 27-8. *Christi . . . sequi vestigia* : 1 Peter ii. 21.  
 28-9. *de manu . . . tartarea* : cf. Psalm xlvi. 16 (Vulgate).

## CHAPTER II. Page 2

1. *Galli e suis remoti sunt* : all the MSS. read *Galliae (Gallie)* *suis remotae (remote) sunt*. The form *Galli e* only occurs in Bongars and in Tudebod. The *Recueil* editors follow Bongars, but Hagenmeyer adopts the reading *Galliae (Gallie)*, because it is found in all the MSS., in particular in *B*, which he regards as nearest to the original, while the awkward construction suggests an early origin. For the retention of *Galli e* despite the consensus of MS. readings in favour of *Gallie* it may be argued that Bongars is in agreement with the early plagiarist Tudebod, and that it would be as easy for copyists to turn *Galli e* into *Gallie* and thus avoid the clumsy repetition of *Galli* in two consecutive sentences (*Iamiamque Galli. . . . Fecerunt denique Galli*) as for Tudebod and Bongars to reverse the process. In a subsequent discussion of the date of Peter the Hermit's arrival at Constantinople (note : c. ii. 9) Hagenmeyer rejects the reading of all the MSS., including *B*, and follows Bongars and Tudebod. It would seem more logical for these two passages to stand or fall together, as they rest on much the same authority. Hence, in the present edition, the text of Bongars has been retained in both cases.

3. *Hungariae . . . regionem* : King Coloman succeeded his father, Ladislaus I, the Saint, in 1095.

3-4. *Petrus heremita [Eremita]* : Peter the Hermit, called by Anna Comnena Κουκούπετρος, 'Cowled Peter', *Petrus Cucullatus*, or 'Peterkin', from a Picard word, *keukiot*, little (Ducange, *Notae ad Annae Alex.*). Born in or near Amiens in Picardy, Peter became a monk, an ascetic, and a leader and preacher of the 'People's Crusade' of 1096, though his claims to be 'the first author' (*primus auctor*, Alb. of Aix, Lib. i, c. ii) of the great expedition must be regarded as legendary. They rest mainly on such comparatively late, romantic, and literary authorities as the *Historia belli sacri*, Albert of Aix, William of Tyre, and *La Chanson d'Antioche*.

4. *dux Godefridus* : Godfrey of Bouillon, or of Boulogne, Duke of Lower Lorraine. He was called Godfrey of Bouillon from his castle and County of Bouillon in the Ardennes, near the French frontier of the duchy of Lower Lorraine. Godfrey was the son of Eustace II, Count of Boulogne (B. sur mer). By his second wife, Ida, sister of Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lower Lorraine, Eustace II had three sons. Eustace III, Count of Boulogne (notes, c. xxxviii), Godfrey, 'Advocate of

the Holy Sepulchre', and Baldwin, who succeeded him on the throne of Jerusalem. Godfrey was the adopted heir of his uncle Godfrey the Hunchback. In 1076 he succeeded to the family lands, including Bouillon, and to the March of Antwerp. In 1089, after he had fought on the Imperialist side in the War of Investiture, the Emperor Henry IV granted him the duchy of Lower Lorraine. When in 1096 he started for the Holy Land, he pledged his castle of Bouillon to the Bishop of Liège and sold some of his hereditary estates. His legend connects with Lohengrin and the 'Swan Knight'. He is one of the 'Nine Worthies of Christendom'. G. Richter, *Annalen der deutsch. Gesch. im Mittelalter*, Abtheilung III, Band II, 1898, *sub ann.* 1076, 1089, 1095, 1096; E. Heyck, *Die Kreuzzüge und das heilige Land*, 1900, p. 25 seq.; Enc. Brit., ed. 1911, *Godfrey*; C. Hippéau, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, 1874-7; Pignonneau, *Le Cycle de la Croisade et de la famille de Bouillon*, 1877. Cf. Michaud, *Bibl. des Croisades*, i, 1829.

*Balduin frater eius*: Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, 1100-18, son of Eustace II, Count of Boulogne, and of his second wife Ida. He married the daughter of Ralph of Toény, lord of Conches. She accompanied him on the Crusade, but died near Marash in 1097. Baldwin then married an Armenian, niece of the Armenian prince Constantine. His third wife was Adelaide of Sicily, daughter of Robert Guiscard's brother, the Great Count, Roger I (notes, c. x. 59-60, c. xi. 61). Cf. A. E. Freeman, *Norm. Cong.*, iv-v; *W. Rufus*, i.

5. *Balduin comes de Monte*: Baldwin II, Count of Hainault, 'de monte Henno'. He was killed or carried off by the Turks in 1098.

6. *quos ignoror*: the Anonymous only knows about Godfrey's troops from hearsay. Cf. c. iv, where he shows intimate knowledge of the army of Bohemund, his own leader and *dominus*.

6-8. *viam, quam . . . Carolus Magnus . . . aptari fecit*: the 'road of Charles the Great' was the trade-route and pilgrim's way from Constantinople to Germany, which connected the Elbe with the Middle Danube, and branched off to the Black Sea and to the Adriatic. It was begun by Tiberius, continued by Trajan, and completed by Constantine the Great. Charles the Great had relations with both the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Caliph of Baghdad Hārūn ar-Rashid, though the legend of the pilgrimage of Charlemagne and his twelve peers to the Holy Places seems to have come into being after the First Crusade. Robert the Monk makes Urban II at Clermont incite his hearers to action by reminding them of the deeds of Charles the Great and his son Louis, *qui regna Turcorum destruxerunt*. He turns the ancient Danube route into a military road, made by Charlemagne for his army. Cf. Gaston

Paris, *La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, 1880; Jules Coulet, *Études sur l'Ancien Poème Français du Voyage de Charlemagne en Orient*, 1907.

9. *venit Constantinopolim Kalendis Augusti*: The Kalends of August would be August 1. Until the appearance of the *Recueil* edition of the *Gesta* this date was unquestioned. The *Recueil* editors, however, adopted the reading of *E*, III. *Kal. Augusti*, i. e. July 30, and both von Sybel, in the second edition of his *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*, and Hagenmeyer, in *Peter der Eremit*, accepted this emendation. Subsequently, Hagenmeyer reverted to his earlier opinion, and gave the date as August 1 in his edition of the *Gesta Francorum*, 1890, and in his *Chronologie de la Première Croisade* (1902). Nearly all the MSS. agree with *E*, but *C* has *in* (possibly a mistake for *ij*) *kl. augusti*. Bongars is supported by two MSS. of Tudebod (*C* and *D*), which have the reading *i. Kal. Augusti*, and by Guibert of Nogent. Hagenmeyer follows Bongars in preference to the MS. authorities, and suggests that the figure III in the MSS. is due to a misreading of the last letter of the previous word, *Constantinopolim* (note, c. ii. 1, cf. ii. 36).

10. *Alamannorum*: Germans in general. *Alemanni* is frequently used for inhabitants of south-west Germany or for Swabians in particular.

10-11. *Lombardos et Longobardos*: Northern and Southern Italians. It is an indication of the Italian nationality of the Anonymous that he has the special knowledge which enables him to make this distinction.

12. *imperator*: Alexius I, Comnenus, 1081-1118.

13. *Brachium*: the Bosphorus or Hellespont, the 'Arm of St. George'. St. George of Cappadocia was martyred at Nicomedia on April 23, A.D. 303. His body was removed to Lydda in Palestine, but the scene of his martyrdom remained under his special protection and many churches and religious houses were dedicated to him in this district, among them a monastery at the entrance to the Straits. Ducange, *Gloss.*, *Brachium*; *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., *George*.

22. *Nicomedia*: the modern Ismid. Stephen of Blois, in a letter to his wife Adela, describes it as *urbem desolatam a Turcis*. *Epp. Steph. Carn.*, i; *Rec. des Hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. occ.*, iii.

25. *Rainaldus [Reinaldus]*: he led the Germans and Italians after their separation from the Franks at Nicomedia, and betrayed them to the Turks. He was probably a German, but he may be identical with *Rainaldus de Castro Breis* (Bray on the Seine?) who is mentioned by Albert of Aix.

26. *Romaniam*: Rūm, i. e. Rome, the Asiatic portion of the East Roman Empire. The Anonymous uses the term for Asia Minor, to the boundaries of Armenia and Syria (cf. c. xxi).

27. *Nicenam*: Nicea, called in c. vii *caput totius Romaniae*,

one of the chief towns of Rūm or Romania, was occupied by the Seljuk Turks in 1078. Raymond of Agiles calls it *urbs munitissima, tam natura quam ingenio*. Stephen of Blois, in his first letter to his wife, says that it was surrounded by walls and by more than three hundred lofty towers.

28. *Exerogorgo*. The position of this fort or castle has not been satisfactorily determined. Michaud, *Le Prévost*, following Poujoulat, and the *Recueil* editors, identify it with Eski-Kaleh (old castle), but Hagenmeyer has shown the topographical difficulties in the way of accepting this identification. Anna Comnena and Albert of Aix say that the Crusaders had to take the castle by force of arms (Hagenmeyer, *operacit.*, *Chron. de la Prem. Croisade*, pp. 39, 40).

36. *qui est iii. Kal. Octobris*: Hagenmeyer omits these words, as a later interpolation in MSS. *G* (Bongars) and *E* (ER). He attributes the *in* *Kal.* of Bongars to a mistaken reading of the MS. figure III (*vij Kal.*) On the other hand, the *in* of Bongars' original MS. may be the source of the III in *E*. In a previous case (c. ii. 9) Hagenmeyer argues that copyists may easily have read *im* as III. III *Kal. Octob.* is the right date, Sept. 29.

40. *flebotomarent* : *flebotomare*, (φλεβοτομέω) to bleed.

42. *piscinam*: *piscina* is an Apulian word for cistern, here used for a drain or sewer. *Piscinae enim vocabulo passim Apuli utuntur, ad significandas cisternas* (Ducange, *Gloss.*). The use of this local word is an indication of the nationality of the Anonymous.

50. *Nolite timere* : Matt. x. 28.

59. *signum* : target.

60. *Corosanum* [*Corrozanam* (c. xviii), *Corrozanum* (c. xxi)]: Khorāsān, the region south-east of the Caspian Sea which had formed part of the Caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashid (786-809). It had been conquered by the Seljuk Turks and was now nominally under the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad, actually under the Turkish sultan. The Anonymous treats it as a province of Persia, lying east of Antioch (c. xxi). Einhard (*Vita Karoli*, xvi) calls Hārūn ar-Rashid *Aaron rex Persarum*.

61. *Aleph* [*Alech* (*E*)]: Haleb, Aleppo. An emirate, ruled by Ridwan in 1096.

64. *Guualterius sine habere* : 'Sensaveor', 'Sine pecunia', 'Walter the Penniless'. He and his three brothers went with their uncle, a French knight, Walter of Poissi (*Galterius de Pexeio*) (cf. *Ord. Vit. Lib. ix*). Le Prévost suggests the derivation of the nickname from *Boissi-sans-Avoir*, near Montfort l'Amauri. Robert the Monk calls Walter *primicerius et signifer agminis Eremitae*. He was killed at Civitot.

*Cyuito, Ciuito* [*Civetot, Civitot, Chevetot*]: The editors of the *Recueil* identified this place with the modern Gemlik or Kemlik, the ancient Cius, on the Gulf of Mudania. This was the view of Peyré (*Hist. de la 1<sup>re</sup> Croisade*, 1809). But Paulin

Paris had already shown, in his edition of Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* (*Soc. de l'Hist. de France*, 1838), that Civitot must be placed on the Gulf of Nicomedia. Villehardouin, an eyewitness, writes: 'Li Civetot siet ausinc sor le goffre de Nichonmie, de l'autre part devers Nique.' (Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.*, i. p. 22, note 3). Anna Comnena makes Helenopolis the camping-place of Peter the Hermit's host, and Hagenmeyer, in an exhaustive discussion of the subject in *Peter der Eremit* (pp. 180-4), summarized in *Gesta Francorum*, ii. 8, note 65, locates Civitot in the immediate vicinity of Helenopolis on the Gulf of Nicomedia. The name Civitot comes from the Greek *κιβωτός*, anchorage, roadstead. Hence it was given to the harbour which was built near Helenopolis, the modern Hersek.

86. *Persidem*: cf. notes, c. xxi.

## CHAPTER III. Page 5

1. *Sclavinia*: Croatia and Dalmatia; *per Dalmatiam*, according to Fulcher of Chartres. Cf. Raym. of Agiles: *Sclavonia est tellus deserta et invia et montuosa, ubi nec feras nec volucres per tres hebdomadas vidimus.*

2. *comes de S. Aegidio Raimundus*: Raymond of St. Gilles (S. Aegidius), south of Nîmes, Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, called *Σαγγέλης* by Anna Comnena, Sanjil (*Saint Gilles*) by Ibn el-Athir. In a charter to Cluny of 1096 he styles himself *comes Tolosanorum et Rutenensium* (Rouergue), *dux Narbonae, marchio Provinciae* (Mansi, xx. 938, old ed.). He was the second son of Pons, Count of Toulouse, and on his father's death he divided the inheritance with his brother William, who became Count of Toulouse. He subsequently acquired the County of Toulouse, and kept it after his brother's death. He married the daughter and heiress of Bertrand, Count or Marquis of Provence, but the marriage was dissolved, as within the forbidden degrees of kinship. His second wife was an Italian-Norman, of the house of Hauteville; his third wife, a Spaniard of the ruling house of Castile, accompanied him on the Crusade. He seems to have been over fifty when he took the cross in 1095, but an Eastern chronicler states that he had already made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had lost an eye in a quarrel with the Mohammedans. (Cf. Introd., p. xxi.) This story is unsubstantiated, but Raymond appears to have been one-eyed, *vir monoculus* (cf. Guib. of Nogent, W. of Malmes.). He is also said to have fought against the Moors in Spain. For his later history, cf. notes, cc. xviii, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxviii, xxxv, xxxix. He died in the Holy Land in 1105 (Vaissète et Devic, *Hist. du Languedoc*, iii, nouv. éd. 1873-89).

2-3. *Podiensis episcopus*: Adhémar de Monteil, Bishop

of Le Puy in Auvergne, the Papal legate and representative on the Crusade. The Crusading leaders, in a letter to the Pope, call him *tuum vicarium*. To the Anonymous he was the Crusaders' *rector et pastor* (c. xxx), to Raymond of Agiles he seemed 'another Moses', *alter Moyses*. He died at Antioch on August 1, 1098 (cf. *Introd.*, pp. xxi, xxv, xxix).

3-4. *antiquam Romae viam*: the Appian Way (*Via Appia*), from Northern Italy to Rome, Brindisi, and Bari.

4. *Boamundus*: Bohemund, or Bohemond, eldest son of Robert Guiscard and of his first wife Alberada (*Aubrée*). Ordericus Vitalis rightly calls him *Marcus Buamundus*, for his baptismal name was Marcus, and Bohemund, the name of a legendary giant, was given to him by his father *iocunde* as a nickname. Bohemund was the chief leader of the Italian-Norman Crusaders and is the hero of the first part of the *Gesta Francorum* (cf. *Introd.*, pp. xiii-xv, xx-xxi, xxiii-xxx).

5. *Richardus de Principatu*: son of William, Prince of Salerno, who was step-brother of Robert Guiscard. He married Tancred's sister. He took part in the battle of Dorylaeum (c. ix), sided with Tancred in his quarrel with Baldwin at Mamistra, settled in the Holy Land, and in 1100 was taken prisoner with Bohemund by Danishmend of Sivas.

*Robertus comes Flandrensis*: Robert 'of Jerusalem', Count of Flanders, son of Robert Friso Count of Flanders who died in 1093. In 1099-1100 Robert the Crusader returned to Europe. He is called *Georgii filius*, (*li fils saint Jorge, Chans. d'Ant.*, Ch. vi). He brought back an arm of St. George from the Crusade.

6. *Robertus Normannus* [*comes de Normannia, Normanniae*]: eldest son of William, the Conqueror of England. To raise money for the Crusade he pledged his duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus (E. A. Freeman, *W. Rufus*, i).

*Hugo Magnus*: Hugh, Count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I, King of France. *Li quens Hues-li-maines, frere au roi Phelipon* (*Chans. d'Ant.*, Ch. ii). The by-name *Magnus* seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the French word *maines* (from *minus*, Mod. *moins*), younger. Cf. *Chroniques universelles*: *Du roi Henri remesent dui fil, Phelipes ot non li ainsnes ; li autres ot non Hues, en sousnon li maisnes*.

6-7. *Eurardus de Puisatio*: son of Hugh I, Seigneur of Le Puisac or Puiset near Janville, between Chartres and Orleans. He took an active part in the Crusade, both at Antioch and at Jerusalem.

7. *Achardus de Monte Merloi* [*A. de Mommellou* (c. xxxvii), *candidus capite* (Alb. of Aix: Lib. II, c. xxiii)]: Achardus of Montmerle (Dép. Ain) pledged his patrimony to the Abbot and monks of Cluny in return for money and mules when he went on Crusade. The pledge was never redeemed. According to the

*Gesta* (c. xxxvii) he was killed on an expedition to Jaffa in June 1099. (Cf. Hagenmeyer, *Chron. de la Prem. Crois.*, 1096, avril 12.)

7-8. *Isuardus de Musone* [*Usuardus de Musione* (CER)]: Raymond of Agiles mentions a Provençal Crusader called *Isoardus comes Diensis*, and Albert of Aix mentions among the followers of Raymond of Toulouse, *Luodewicus de Monzunz, filius Tirrici de Muntbiliarht* (Lib. II, c. xxiii, *Rec. des hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. occ.*, iv, p. 317), or *Dirici de Monthiliart* (ed. Bongars). An *Olivier de Mouson* occurs in the *Chanson d'Antioche* (cf. ii, p. 348, Table). *Musone* is possibly, as the editor of the *Recueil* suggests, the castle of *Mousson*, which has given its name to *Pont-à-Mousson*. Mr. W. H. Stevenson connects *Isuardus* with the southern French name *Isnard* (Eisenhart). R. of Agiles has *Hisnardus* as a form of *Isuardus*, R. iii. 249.

9. *Brando sim . . . Barim . . . Otrrentum*: Brindisi, Bari, and Otranto were the chief ports of embarkation from southern Italy for the East.

10. *Wilhelmus Marchisi filius*: Tancred's brother (cf. note, c. iv. 21-2).

11. *Durachium*: the ancient Epidamnus, the modern Durazzo.

12. *dux illius loci*: John Comnenus of Durazzo, the nephew of Alexius Comnenus, Governor of Durazzo.

19-20. *burgo urbis*: *burgus forensis, faubourg, suburb*. Cosmidium on the western shore of the Golden Horn, according to Hagenmeyer and Krebs (*Kritik Alb. v. Aachen*). Pera, on the south-east of the Golden Horn, according to von Sybel, Kugler (*Gesch. d. Kreuzz.*), and Chalandon (*Alex. Comnène*).

24. *Turcopolis*: the Turcopules were Greek auxiliaries of Turkish origin. Cf. Raymond of Agiles: *Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos vel de matre Christiana patre Turco procreantur*.

25. *Pincinatis* [*Patzinaks, Petchénègues*]: the wild tribes, probably of Mongolian origin, who had settled between the Balkans and the Danube and were constantly at war with the Byzantine Greeks. In 1092, after a long period of struggle, Alexius I had defeated them with great slaughter. Those who survived were formed into a special corps in the Greek army (Chalandon, *Alex. Comn. cc. i, iv*).

37. *portam ciuitatis*: the Romanus gate (*Porta Sancti Romani*) in the north-west wall of the city.

#### CHAPTER III. Page 6

2. *Malfi Scafardi pontis*: Amalfi, on the Gulf of Salerno. The Anonymous shows his intimacy with the locality by distinguishing it from Melfi, between Naples and Bari. The siege of the rebellious town by the Italian-Normans began in July 1096. Various explanations are given of the words *Scafardi pontis*. *Scaphardus, scaphaldus* (Ducange, *Gloss.*) is the French

*échafaud*, the English *scaffold*. It may here mean a raised 'stepped' bridge, or the word *scaphardus* may here be connected with *scapha*, a boat. The early plagiarists felt the difficulty. Tudebod writes *Scaphardi Malfi scilicet Scaphardi pontis* [*Caphardi pontis*, *Codd. BE*]; Robert the Monk has *Malphi super litus Scaphardi pelagi*. Hagenmeyer suggests that this may mean 'the Sea of Sicardus', from Sicardus, prince of Benevento and Salerno, who conquered Amalfi in the ninth century.

6. *ostensionem*: a sign.

10. *signum*: Hagenmeyer follows Tudebod in reading *sonum*. The reading in the *Recueil (ER)* agrees with Bongars.

*Deus le volt*: the Italian Anonymous and the Italian author of the *Hist. belli sacri* use Italianized forms of the famous battle-cry, *Deus le volt, Deus lo vult* (*Hist. b. s.*). Bongars is here probably nearer to the original MS. than the other MSS. of the *Gesta* which have *Deus vult*, while the French Tudebod writes *Deus hoc vult*.

16. *Rogerius comes*: Roger, the 'Great Count' of Sicily, Robert Guiscard's brother.

21-2. *Tancredus Marchisi filius*: Tancred, son of Robert Guiscard's daughter Emma. His father was apparently either a marquis, called Odobonus by Ordericus Vitalis, and William by W. of Tyre, or, if the suggestion of Paulin Paris be accepted (*Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 370-2), a Saracen emir, called Makrisi. In the *Chanson d'Antioche* Tancred is described as *le fils Marquis*, and also as *le pouulant* (*poulain*, of mixed Christian and Saracen, or Frank and Syrian blood), and *le fils à l'Amirant* (Emir). (Cf. *Recueil*, iii. 600; de Saulcy, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, iv.)

22. *Rainulfus*: son of William, Prince of Salerno.

23. *Robertus de Ansa*: Anse (Dép. Rhône) or Anzi near Potenza in southern Italy.

23-4. *Hermannus de Canni*: the ancient Cannae in Apulia.

24. *Robertus de Surda valle*: Sourdeval (Dép. la Manche), according to Le Prévost (Ord. Vit. iii. 488) (cf. Röhricht, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzuges*).

24-5. *Robertus filius Tostani, et Hunfredus filius Radulfi*: these Crusaders are still unidentified.

25-6. *Richardus filius comitis Rainulfi*: son of the Rainulfus whose father was Will. of Salerno. Nephew of Richardus de Principatu.

26. *comes de Russinolo*, Russignolo: Ronciglione, north-west of Rome; Roscignolo, near Salerno; Rossano in Calabria; or Roussillon in southern France.

27. *Boello Carnotensis*: Boello of Chartres. R. of Agiles says that he was the brother of a certain Fulcher of Chartres who was the first to mount the Firuz tower at Antioch in 1098.

*Alberedus de Cagnano*: Cagnano is situated to the north-east of Aquila in the Abruzzi. Alberedus was killed at Harenc (Areg) (c. xii) according to the *Hist. bell. sac.*

28. *Hunfredus de Monte Scabioso*: Monte Scaglioso, near Matera, in the Basilicata (S. Italy). Humphrey fell in the battle of Dorylaeum (c. ix). In cc. ix and xxvi he is called *Godefredus*, and he grants a charter as *Goffredus*.

29-30. *Bulgariae partibus*: Bulgaria included Thrace and Northern Macedonia.

32. *vallem de Andronopoli*: Hagenmeyer suggests Dropoli, the valley of the Drino.

42. *Castoriam*: the modern Kastur.

49. *Palagoniam*: the ancient Pelagonia. The Crusaders followed the *Via Egnatia*.

50. *haereticorum castrum*: these heretics may have been Paulicians, the heretical allies of the Patzinaks (notes, c. ix) (cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 184, note 6).

54. *flumen Bardarum*: the river Vardar. The ancient Axius.

68-9. *In roga imperatoris*: *roga* is payment, *stipendium*, cf. R. of Agiles: *milites de roga imperatoris*.

## CHAPTER V. Page 9

3. *Corpalatum* [*Ciropalates, Curator palatii* (Ducange, *Gloss.*)]: cf. *Major domus*, Mayor of the palace, *comes palatii*, &c. A palace official of high rank (von Sybel).

19. *Serra*: the ancient Serrhae in Macedonia, modern Sjer (Seres), near the river Struma, on the high road to Constantinople.

27. *Rusam*: Ruskoï, or Keshan, in Thrace, the Rossa of R. of Agiles, through which the army of Raymond of Toulouse passed (Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 185, note 5).

31. *Coenam Domini*: *Cena Domini*, Maundy Thursday, Thursday in Holy week. The day before was Wednesday, April 1, 1097.

41. *Pascha Domini*: Easter Day, April 5, 1097.

## CHAPTER VI. Page 10

3. *extra urbem*: Cosmidion. Godfrey had now crossed the Bosphorus. Cf. W. of Tyre, ii. 8, *ecclesiam sanctorum martyrum Cosmae et Damiani, quae hodie vulgari appellatione dicitur Castellum Boamundi* (Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 186).

24-5. *quoniam . . . praeteriret*: Anna Comnena knows nothing of this promise.

40. *hominium et fiduciam*: homage and fealty (Ducange, *Gloss. Hominium*). For the distinction between homage and

fealty cf. Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, ed. 1, Bk. II, ch. i, § 6. Homage is 'done', fealty is 'sworn'. The act of homage creates the close bond between lord and man, lord and vassal, landlord and tenant, the feudal relationship of 'vassalism'. The act of homage is usually followed by the oath of fealty (*fidelitas*). Here *hominium et fiduciam* are opposed to the less compelling oath which the Count of Toulouse took, which in its terms resembled the ordinary oath of fealty. (Cf. A. Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, 1892, p. 184 seq.)

### CHAPTER VII. Page 12

20. *stipites*: stakes or poles, on which the crosses were placed, to serve as sign-posts. The army of Raymond of Toulouse seems to have used stones to mark its passage through 'Sclavinia'.

### CHAPTER VIII. Page 13

29. *arbalistae et sagittarii*: crossbowmen and archers.

37. *comes Stephanus*: Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, son of Theobald III, Count of Blois, who became Count of Champagne in 1047. Stephen married Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. He was the father of King Stephen of England. For his later history cf. c. xxvii, notes.

38. *Rogerius de Barnavilla*: Le Prévost identifies Barnavilla with Barneville-sur-Mer (Manche). Hagenmeyer suggests Baronville, south of Dinand (Namur). Roger fought in the battle of the Iron Bridge in 1097 and was killed in 1098, in a sortie from Antioch (cf. *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 309).

48. *lacus*: the lake Ascanius. Nicaea was on its eastern shore.

57-8. *sed... lacum*: these words are not in Bongars. They are inserted here from the *Recueil (ER)* and Hagenmeyer, as they are obviously needed to complete the passage.

58-9. *plenas Turcopolis*: the troops in the ships were commanded by Butumites. Tatikios (Taticius) and Tzita were also sent to reinforce the besiegers of Nicaea with troops.

### CHAPTER IX. Page 17

5-6. *quendam pontem*: Hagenmeyer thinks that this was the bridge over the river Geukson, the ancient Gallus, a tributary of the Sangarius (Sakarija).

10. *vir Boamundus*: here there is a lacuna in Bongars, indicated by three asterisks between *vir* and *Boamundus*. Both Hagenmeyer and the editors of the *Recueil* print *vir Boamundus* without noticing this. The asterisks probably represent an illegible word in the MSS. used by Bongars. MS. C has *nobilis vir* in this place. *Nobilis* may well be the missing word,

though it may also be *sapiens*, an epithet which the Anonymous is fond of applying to Bohemund (cf. Introduction, p. xiii).

16. *Turci*: the subjects of the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium or Rüm, Kılıç Arslân or Suleiman II, who is called by R. of Agiles and by Fulcher of Chartres *Solimannus*. The fight here described is the battle of Dorylaeum, July 1, 1097. Dorylaeum is the modern Eskishehr. The battle is well described by Oman, *Art of War*, vol. i, Bk. v, c. iii.

50. *Turcorum et Arabum et Saracenorum*: the Turks are the Seljuks. The Saracens are probably the Fatimite Egyptians.

69. *Agulani* [*Angulani*]: a name of uncertain application. Paulin Paris (*Chans. d'Ant.* ii, 305, *Agolans*) writes: 'Je crois que c'étoit les Africains de Fez', but gives no reasons for his belief. Hagenmeyer thinks that the name may be connected with snake-like (*anguis*) clothing. A better suggestion is that the name is derived from the Arabic *aghwāl* (more destructive, most destructive). Cf. Eng. ghoul, from an Arabic root.

72. *Persarum*: cf. Fulcher of Chartres: *Turcis, scilicet paganis Persicis*. In the thirteenth century Joinville called the leader of the Charismian Turks 'li emperieres de Perse'. (*Hist. de St. Louis*, c. 102, § 528.)

*Publicanorum*: by *Publicani* the Anonymous means the Paulicians, a Manichaean sect which had taken deep root in Armenia and had spread into other parts of Asia Minor and into the Balkan Peninsula. The Paulicians had considerable political importance, as religious persecution led them to revolt against Christian authority and to ally with the Patzinaks against the Byzantine Greeks in Europe, and with the Mohammedan powers against the Christians in Asia. Hence they are classed with 'Turks, Persians, Saracens', &c. Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.*, Chant vii. :

. . . . . Arabi et Persant  
Et tout li Amoraive et li Popellicant  
Et Turc et Medien, une gent combatant,  
Cil de Samaire i furent et tout li Agolant.

(Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, c. iv, p. 103; R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the Hist. of Med. Thought*, c. iii; Le Prévost, *Ord. Vit.* iii. 535; Gibbon, *Dec. and Fall of the Rom. Emp.*, c. liv.; Ducange, *Gloss.*, *Populicani*.)

93. *Hermenios, Suranios*: Armenians and Syrians.

3-4. *Solimanus dux illorum*: Kılıç Arslân (Turk. *kılıç*, sabre; *arslân*, lion), Suleiman II, Sultan of Iconium, son of Suleiman I, a kinsman of Malik Shah. Suleiman II succeeded his father in 1086. The flight alluded to in the text was from Dorylaeum rather than from Nicaea. The dialogue with the ten thousand

Arabs probably echoes the gossip of the camp and the country-side. It is elaborated by Robert the Monk and by Guibert of Nogent.

39-40. *fuit mortua . . . equorum*: Hagenmeyer and the *Recueil (ER)* read *equitum*, and Hagenmeyer explains that the knights were not literally dead, but as their horses had died they ceased to be knights and became foot-soldiers.

43. *multones*: rams or sheep.

46. *Yconio* [*Ychonio (C)*, *Iconio (Ha)*, *Iconium*]: the modern Konia. One of the two chief cities of the Sultanate of Rüm.

52. *Erachiam, Heraclea, Eraclea*: the ancient Heraclea, the modern Eregli. P. Paris would identify it with the ancient Cybistra, von Sybel with the ancient Archalla. The ancient Claudiopolis has also been suggested (cf. *Rec.* iii. 767 (Cybistra); de Saulcy, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes*, iv. 505 (Archalla)).

59-60. *Illic diuisit se ab aliis Tancredus*: here the Anonymous digresses in order to describe the expedition of Tancred and Baldwin to Cilicia, an episode for which he is the most trustworthy authority, though his report is not that of an eye-witness. The parenthetical character of the digression, which ends with the words *plurima castra* (l. 58), is perhaps indicated by the marginal figure (X.) in Bongars' text.

62. *vallem de Botrenthrot* [*Brotrentrot (ER)*, *Botenthrot (C)*]: according to Hagenmeyer, the valley in which the modern Bozanta, the ancient Podandus, is situated. Von Sybel also identifies Botrenthrot with Podandus, and points out that at this point the road from Adana to Constantinople emerges from the mountains (*op. cit.*, p. 304). The editors of the *Recueil*, Le Prévost and others, on the contrary, identify Botrenthrot with Göllek Boghas, to the south of Bozanta.

63. *Tarsum* [*Tharsum (C)*]: Tarsus, in Cilicia, on the river Cydnus. The birthplace of St. Paul. The town seems to have been inhabited by Greeks and Armenians and garrisoned by Turks (cf. *Introd.*, p. xxv).

96. *Athena*: the modern Adana. Albert of Aix says that a Burgundian named Welf, with an independent body of troops, had taken the town from the Turks. Tancred found the gates closed, but was admitted after negotiations. Ralph of Caen, with greater probability, says that an Armenian was in possession and that he invited Tancred to Adana. Archer (Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*) apparently accepts Albert's story; von Sybel follows Ralph of Caen (cf. von Sybel, *op. cit.*).

*Manistra* [*Mamistra (CER)*]: Missis, Messisse, the ancient Mopsuestia. Albert of Aix and William of Tyre expand the bare statement of the Anonymous and make Tancred storm the town and massacre the Turkish garrison. Ralph of Caen says that the Turks fled by night. It was here that the quarrel between Tancred and Baldwin led to actual fighting, followed by a reconciliation.

## CHAPTER XI. Page 24

3-4. *Hermeniorum . . . terram*: Armenia Minor, Lesser Armenia, the Armenian colony in Cilicia, which in 1097 was nominally subject to the Sultan of Baghdad. It should be distinguished from Greater Armenia, south-west of the Caspian Sea and south of Georgia. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II had weakened the power of the independent Christian princes of Armenia by his conquests and annexations, and in the second half of the eleventh century their remaining territory was conquered by the Seljuk Turks. The ancient capital, Ani, was taken, and in 1071 the Byzantine Greeks were decisively defeated on the Armenian battlefield of Manzikert. Armenian Christians, flying before the Turks, had occupied the Taurus ranges, and had found new homes in Mesopotamia, in the country between the Euphrates and the Taurus, and in Cilicia. The Anonymous seems to include part of Cappadocia in 'the land of the Armenians', as the Crusaders' route from Heraclea to Caesarea does not run through Lesser Armenia (cf. Hagenmeyer *Gesta Franc.* c. xi. 1, note 3; von Sybel, *op. cit.*; Oman, *Byz. Emp.*, cc. xix-xx; W. B. Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, pp. 21 seq., 175 seq.).

5. *quoddam castrum*: this castle has not been satisfactorily identified. Hagenmeyer guesses that it was either Kilissé Hissar, or, more probably, Develú Karahissar. Baudri of Dol says it was near the town of Alfia. Roger of Wendover (ann. 1097) says that Robert duke of Normandy took a city, called Azena, and gave it to Simeon, one of his knights. But no traces of a town called Alfia or Azena have been found in the district (cf. note, c. xi. 18).

7. *Symeon*: Hagenmeyer thinks that he was probably one of the smaller Armenian princes, 'native to the region', not, as R. of Wendover says, a follower of Robert of Normandy.

12. *Caesaream Cappadociae*: the ancient Mazaca, the chief city of Cappadocia, the residence of the old Cappadocian kings, and an important ecclesiastical centre. It was taken and plundered by the Turks in 1067 or 1068. Baudri of Dol speaks of it at the time of the First Crusade as *ad solum diruta*.

13. *quandam ciuitatem*: B. of Dol. and Ord. Vit. call this city *Plastencia*. Hagenmeyer would identify it with the modern Hadschin, or with Saris on the road from Caesarea to Marash. It is probably the stronghold (*firmissimum castrum*) mentioned by Stephen of Blois in his second letter to his wife, as the place of refuge of the Turkish prince Assan.

18. *Petrus de Alpibus [de Aliphi, de Aliph, Aliph] (Tud.), Alphia (Baudri), Alfia (Ord. Vit.)*: Baudri and Ordericus may have evolved the town *Alfia* (c. xi. 5) from this name.

Le Prévost identifies this Peter with a Provençal Pierre d'Aulphs, who successively served Robert Guiscard and the Greeks. Hagenmeyer refers to the *princeps* mentioned by Stephen of Blois (Epp. ii.), to whom the *firmissimum castrum* ('*Plastencia*') was entrusted, and thinks that P. de Alpibus was the Petrus Alipa who is said by Anna Comnena to have fled from Antioch. (Cf. notes, c. xxvii) (cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 194, 'Tatikios qu'accompagnait Pierre d'Aulps'.)

27. *Coxon*: the modern Gueuksun, on the river of the same name. The ancient Coccusus.

29. *alumni*: inhabitants.

32-3. *Turci* . . . *discessissent*: this was a false rumour. Cf. xi. 25, *audierunt Turcos esse in ciuitate*.

35-6. *Petrum de Castellione*: possibly Castillon in the Dordogne (Dép. Gironde) (Hagenmeyer). Tudebod and *Hist. b. sac.* say that he helped to defend *Machumaria* (c. xviii). He fought well at Marra (c. xxxiii). Albert of Aix mentions his good service at the siege of Nicaea, and at the later siege of Arsuf in 1099.

37. *Petrum de Roasa*: Le Prévost suggests Roaix (Vaucluse).

*Petrum Reimundum de Pul* [de *Alto Pullo* . . . (R. of Agiles)]: one of the *Machumaria* defenders. A follower of Raymond of Toulouse, he took part in the Invention of the Holy Lance. He died at Antioch, after its capture by the Crusaders.

43. *Vallem de Rugia*: Rugia (cf. c. xxxiii) is the modern Riha. The valley lay east of Antioch.

45. *persecutus est valde*: Tudebod adds: *misitque plenam hastam labris et nasibus Turcorum Raimundo comiti*.

48. *Rusam ciuitatem*: Bongars omits the name *Rusam*, which is found in *E* and other MSS. and in Tudebod. The editors of the *Recueil* are mistaken in confusing Rusa with Rugia. Fulcher of Chartres and other contemporary chroniclers distinguish between them. This Rusa remains unidentified.

49-50. *diabolicam montanam*: the eastern chains of the Antitaurus, between Coccusus and Marash.

53. *saumarius*: a sumpter-horse or pack-horse, a sumpter mule. Guib. of Nogent calls dogs *sagmarii*. (Cf. Ducange, *Gloss.*)

61. *Marasi*: [*Marasim*,] Marash. The town, which Fulcher of Chartres says was completely destroyed in 1114, stood high, overlooking a fertile plain. It was under an Armenian prince and was apparently mainly inhabited by Armenians, though Albert of Aix says that the castle or citadel had been occupied by Turks, who fled before the Crusaders arrived. He also says that the wife of Baldwin died at this time near Marash.

64. *Boamundus*: Bohemund had left the main army, to pursue the Turks.

65-6. *vallem, in qua regalis civitas Antiochia sita est*: the plain of Antioch, a day's journey in width and a day and a half's journey in length, according to Raymond of Agiles. The plain is girt about with mountains. The city of Antioch lies on the south bank of the river Orontes (cf. cc. xvii, xxxii. Cf. Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, c. iv, p. 63).

67. *beato Petro*: Antioch was a patriarchate, and St. Chrysostom (who was born at Antioch) and St. Jerome had taught that St. Peter was its first bishop. *Antiochia, in qua primicerius Apostolorum Petrus cathedram decoravit pontificalem* (Baudri of Dol. 101, 28. R. iv. 40 C.)

## CHAPTER XII. Page 27

1-2. *pontem Farreum [ferreum]*: the Iron Bridge, so called from the meaning of its Arabic name (*Jisr el Hadid*). The word *farreum, ferreum*, may refer to the river Far or Fer (*Farfar fluvius*), which Albert of Aix says flowed beneath it, or it may be connected with *ferreus*, iron. The bridge crossed the Orontes, which is vulgarly called Fer, about eight miles to the east of Antioch. Below it the river bends sharply to the west.

2. *cursores nostri*: Albert of Aix alone states that this force consisted of the mounted followers of Robert of Normandy, Roger of Barnevile, and Euerard de Poisat (Puisac), with 2,000 foot-soldiers.

13. *ante portam ciuitatis*: Bohemund had now rejoined the main army. He took up his position before the East Gate of the city, also called St. Paul's Gate, *porta orientalis, quae dicitur S. Pauli* (W. of Tyre,); *porta, quae respicit ad Persidem plagam* (Alb. of Aix).

17. *tres portas ciuitatis*: the East Gate or St. Paul's Gate and two of the three northern gates, the Bridge Gate, the Duke's Gate, and the Dog Gate.

18-19. *alta . . . montanea*: Mons Casius, on the west and south of the city. The southern walls of Antioch were built along a ridge of the hills which 'run down from the mountains of Ansarieh to within half a mile of the river' (Archer and Kingsford, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

20. *Turci . . . in urbe*: Yagi Sian, the Turkish emir, and his troops (c. xx).

30. *excommunicatis*: the Turks.

36. *Aregh [Harenc, Harem]*: a castle, east of the Iron Bridge, which commanded the road from Antioch to Aleppo. The ruins of this castle may still be seen.

43-4. *duo ex nostris*: one of these two was Alberedus de Cagnano (*Hist. b. sacri*, c. 37). Hermannus de Canni lost his horse (cf. notes, c. iii. 23-4, 27).

48. *portam urbis*: St. Paul's Gate, before which Bohemund was encamped.

52. *Boamundi plateam*: the space in which Bohemund's tents were pitched.

### CHAPTER XIII. Page 28

3. *Maregart* [*Maregarz, Malreguard*]: perhaps the French word *Mauregard*. The fort or castle (*castrum*) was built on a spur of Mt. Casius, to the south of Bohemund's camp. (Cf. von Sybel, p. 325; *Le Prévost, Ord. Vit.* iii. 521.)

15. *stipendum*: provisions.

25. *Hierusalem et Damasco et Aleph*: Jerusalem was under the Turkish emir Sokman ibn Ortok, who was an ally of Yagi Sian. It was taken by the Fatimites in 1098. Damascus was governed by Dekak, and Aleppo by his brother, Ridwan. Dekak, with the *Atābeg* (minister, tutor, or guardian) Tugh-tigin, his stepfather (cf. *Abulfeda*), and with the emir of Emesa, Jenah ed daula, had gathered reinforcements at Caesarea to relieve Antioch. It was a body of these troops that attacked Bohemund and Robert of Flanders, and were repulsed near Elbara, south-east of Antioch. Both sides seem to have claimed the victory (cf. *Kamāl ad-din*), but the Turkish forces did not advance further towards Antioch at this time. Stephen of Blois counts this expedition among the 'seven sieges' of Antioch. (Cf. von Sybel, *op. cit.*, c. viii.)

40-1. *Nos . . . reuertentes*: the Anonymous took part in the Elbara raid.

### CHAPTER XIV. Page 30

12. *senescalcum*: the seneschal or *dapifer* (steward) was one of the most important of the feudal household officials. Here he is found acting in a military capacity as standard-bearer, *vexillifer episcopi* (R. of Agiles). The seneschal's functions usually included military, judicial, administrative, and domestic duties (Ducange, *Gloss.*, *Senescalcus*; A. Luchaire, *Manuel des Inst. Franç*, 1892, Index, *Sénéchal*).

13. *flumen*: the Orontes.

17. *Tancredi montaneam*: Tancred had occupied a ruined monastery to the west of the city, not far from the George Gate. Here, on high ground, he afterwards built his fort or 'castle' (c. xix). (Cf. von Sybel, *op. cit.*, p. 336; Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*)

19. *expendio*: *expendium* here means spoliation, devastation.

36. *purpuratis* [*yperperus, perperus, perpre*]: the Byzantine gold coin *περπέρος*. The Anonymous equates a *purpurus* with 15 *solidos denariorum*, i. e. 180 silver pennies, of which 12 went to a *solidus*. The *solidus* was not a coin at this time, but a unit of account, like an English guinea at the present day. An ass-load of food might therefore be worth 120 *solidos*, or 1,440 pence. The famine prices in the city and the scarcity of food are vividly described by Raymond of Agiles and Fulcher of Chartres. Raymond says that corn was so dear that it cost 7 or 8 *solidos* a night to feed a horse. Fulcher says that the famished people ate growing crops and nettles, horses, asses, camels, dogs, and mice. The very poor even ate the hides of beasts.

## CHAPTER XV. Page 31

i. *Wilhelmus . . . Carpentarius*: Vicomte de Melun, related to Hugh of Vermandois. He had gone through Hungary with the Germans under Emicho, escaped when they were cut to pieces near Wieselburg in August 1096, was brought to Constantinople as a prisoner of the Greeks, and subsequently joined the main army of Crusaders. He was a man of gigantic stature, coarse and rude in nature, *dictis potens sed opere parcus*, in the words of Guibert of Nogent, who cannot pardon him for his flight from Antioch. His by-name 'Carpenter' is explained by Guibert: *Carpentarius, non quia faber lignarius esset, sed quia in bellis cedendo, more carpentarii insisteret, dicebatur*; by Hagenmeyer (*P. der Eremit*, p. 18, note 1) as 'un simple sobriquet'; but Bréhier (*L'Église et l'Orient*, p. 68) calls him Guillaume le Chambellan. (Cf. P. Paris, *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 339.)

*Petrus heremita*: after the defeat at Civitot Peter the Hermit spent the winter near Constantinople. In 1097 he joined the main Crusading army, and probably marched with the *pauperes*. In the *Chanson d'Antioche* he is among the *ribaus*. (Cf. P. Paris, *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 3, note 3: 'Pierre l'Hermitte est toujours chef de la *pietaille*; puis immédiatement au-dessous de lui venoit le *roi Tafurs* ou des *Tafurs*, c'est-à-dire le chef des mendians, des gens sans aveu'.)

7. *vti mala res*: 'as a thing of nought'. Cf. Anglo-Saxon *niðing*.

*tenda*: a tent; only used in the Bongars edition. An Italian form.

14. *Hispania*: William the Carpenter had served against the Moors in Spain, but, according to Guib. of Nogent: *foede recessit et innumeros sua aversione fefellit*. (Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 339.)

16. *Francigenae*: the Franks. Cf. R. of Agiles, R. iii. 244: *omnes de Burgundia et Alvernia et Gasconia et Gothi, Provinciales appellantur, ceteri vero Francigenae et hoc in exercitu, inter hostes autem omnes Francigenae dicebantur.*

26. *furtim recessit*: William the Carpenter fled to Alexandretta, where he joined Stephen of Blois, who had escaped from Antioch. Albert of Aix says that he went back to Constantinople and took part in the later Crusade of 1101.

### CHAPTER XVI. Page 32

1. *inimicus Tetigus* [*Titidus* (Tud.), *Tatic* (R. of Agiles), *Tatikios*, *Taticius*]: the Byzantine imperial representative, who was appointed to accompany and support the Crusaders with a force of Greek soldiers, and to take over the cities won by them in the name of the Eastern Emperor. He was *primicerius*, a highly placed palace official and military commander. To the Anonymous he is an 'enemy' because he was opposed to Bohemund's policy and because he left the Crusading army in the time of its greatest need. For a discussion of the questions arising out of the conduct of Tatikios at Antioch, cf. Introd., p. xxvii. (Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*; von Sybel, *op. cit.*; Chalandon, *op. cit.*; Röhricht, *op. cit.*)

4. *cismare*: MSS. *B*, *C*, and *E*, with the *Recueil* editors, omit this passage altogether. Hagenmeyer (*Gest. Franc.* xvi, 1, note 4) adopts the reading *seminare* (*al. machinari*) from Tudebod. *Cismare* is derived from the Greek *σχίσμα*, Lat. *schisma*. a schism. There is an old English form *cisme* (*Oxf. Dict.*, *schism*). The meaning would be to divide, to separate, or perhaps here to feign false opinions, such as a schismatic might hold. It is worth noting that the Greek word occurs in the passage which treats of the Greek *inimicus*. It seems arbitrary to reject it.

15. *papilio*: tent; Fr. pavillon.

24. *Cyprum*: Cyprus still formed part of the Byzantine Empire. It was in constant communication with the port of St. Simeon and Antioch, and was used by the Crusading army as a base for supplies. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Simeon, had taken refuge in the island.

### CHAPTER XVII. Page 33

2. *gentem Turcorum*: Ridwan of Aleppo and his allies.

13. *fluum et lacum*: the Orontes and the great Lake of Antioch, to the north-east of the city, in the plain. Abulfeda calls this lake *Bohayret Antakia*; the Turkish name for it is *Ak Dengis*, *Dengis Aga*. Cf. Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, Bk. v, c. iii, 'the great lake of Begras'.

14. *exploratores* : Albert of Aix says that these scouts were Walter de Dromedart and a newly baptized Turk, Bohemund's godson.

40. *conostabili . . . Roberto filio Girardi* [*Conostabilis, comes stabuli, constable*] : the constable, like the seneschal, was a great feudal household official (cf. Luchaire, *Man. des Inst. Franç*; Index, *Connétable*). Robert Fitz Gerard may have been a kinsman of Bohemund. He acted as standard-bearer in this battle, and is called in the *Hist. belli sacri* : *fortissimus et honorabilis signifer*. After the conquest of Jerusalem he served under Godfrey of Bouillon.

52. *linguae . . . vexilli* : the tongues or points of the banner or standard. Bohemund's banner was red (*rubicundum*, F. of Chartres) with a snake on it, according to a Provençal version of the *Chans. d'Ant.*

59. *castrum suum* : Harenc.

68. *portam ciuitatis* : St. Paul's Gate, before which Bohemund was encamped. The Egyptian ambassadors were quartered in this part of the camp.

69. *Ammirati Babyloniae* [*Ammiratus, Admirarius, Ammiravitus*] : the modern *emir*, *amir* (Ducange, *Gloss.*, *sub voc.*). The word *admiral* comes from it (*Oxford Dict.*, *sub voc.*). Babylon is Cairo, the seat, since 962, of the heterodox Shiite Fatimite Caliphate. The name Babylon, strictly speaking, refers to the old fortress, at some distance from the modern Cairo, which is said to have been built by one of the later Pharaohs to receive the Babylonian mercenaries in the Egyptian service (E. J. Davis, *The Invasion of Egypt by Louis IX of France*, &c., 1897). Cf. 1 Peter, v. 13, 'The church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you'. The emir mentioned in the text was al-Afdal, emir or vezir of the reigning Fatimite caliph Mustali (1094-1101). The Franks had sent an embassy to Egypt from Nicaea, and their ambassadors had now returned, accompanied by al-Afdal, who hoped to conclude an alliance with the Crusaders.

11. *Machumariam* [*Bafumaria* (R. of Agiles)] : *Machumaria* means a Mohammedan temple or mosque (cf. *Machomet*, c. xxi). There were two mosques on a hill, opposite the Bridge Gate, on the right bank of the Orontes, commanding the road from Aleppo to the port of St. Simeon. Cf. R. of Agiles : *habebat . . . civitas pontem quasi inferiori angulo occidentali, et monticulum quemdam adversum nos, ubi duae erant bafumariae et quaedam sepulcrorum casalia*.

17-18. *portum S. Simeonis* : the harbour at the mouth of

the Orontes. It was also called *Sedium, Sulinus, Suaidieh*, and by Anna Comnena, *Sudei* ( $\Sigmaουδει$ ). William of Tyre identifies it, perhaps erroneously, with the ancient Seleucia (Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Franc.* xviii. 2, note 11). St. Simeon and his disciples occupied a monastery in the neighbourhood, on Mt. Casius. Hence the name, ' the port of St. Simeon '. Genoese ships were lying in this harbour.

26-7. *exierunt extra ciuitatem* : by the Bridge Gate.

34. *ilam gentem* : the workmen and sailors who were being escorted from the port of St. Simeon, to help in the building of the fort.

68. *pontis columnas* : the pillars or piers of the bridge. The plight of the retreating Turks, struggling back to the city, was desperate, as Yagi Sian had ordered the Bridge Gate to be closed.

79. *duodecim Ammiralii* : Raymond of Agiles and Albert of Aix practically agree with the estimate of the Turkish loss in the *Gesta*, though Raymond does not include those buried in the city or drowned in the river. Stephen of Blois more than doubles the numbers. Robert the Monk puts them still higher, and one manuscript of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (Chant iv) gives a total of 10,000, of whom 1,500 were drowned.

86. *spiculando* : throwing darts or javelins.

107-8. *nuntiis Amiralii de Babylone* : Albert of Aix says that the Egyptian embassy had gone to the port of St. Simeon with Bohemund and Raymond of Toulouse, in order to return to Cairo.

116. *ad portam* : this reading is found in MSS. *B, C, and E*, and is accepted by the editors of the *Recueil*. Hagenmeyer rejects it for *portum*, the reading in Tudebod and in Baudri of Dol. As ' port ' is here coupled with ' mountains ', as there was mountainous country to the north of the harbour, and as Raymond of Agiles writes, *victualium conductores ire et redire a portu potuerunt* ;—*portum* may be the original word, but the authority for *portam* is strong, and the victory of March 6 must have given the Crusaders easier access to the Bridge Gate (*portam urbis, vbi pons est*), over the bridge which their new fort (*Machumaria*) commanded, and to the mountains on the left bank of the Orontes. This explanation seems to fit the words of c. xix: *omnes semitae pene prohibitae . . . erant Turcis*. The great object of the besiegers was to blockade the gates of the city.

#### CHAPTER XIX. Page 40

2. *incisae* : 'trenched'.

3. *castrum et . . . monasterium* : Tancred's fort (cf. c. xiv). It was on high ground to the west of the city, on the left bank of the Orontes, opposite the Gate of St. George, the *ciuitatis*

*portam* of the next sentence, described by R. of Agiles as *porta, quae respicit ad meridiem iuxta fluvium.*

9-11. *Plures . . . unum*: these words are only found in Bongars, and in the plagiarists, Tudebod, Baudri, Guibert, and the *Hist. belli sacri*. The editors of the *Recueil*, following E, omit them.

15. *deuetabo*: *vetare*, to forbid, hinder, veto.

15-16. *continuo . . . argenti*: *continuo* means straightway, at once. The mark of silver was a unit of account and weight, not a coin. It varied in value at different periods and in different places, but it usually, in the Middle Ages, equalled either  $\frac{2}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pound sterling, according to the meaning given to the pound. It is sometimes equated with the weight of a pound. *Marca dicitur pondus argenti unius librae* (*Papias*, eleventh century). Hagenmeyer (*Gesta Franc.* xxxix. 18, note 86) accepts this equation. 'Eine marca argenti ist ein Pfund Silber,' but cf. Ducange, *Gloss.*, *Marca*: *Apud nos . . . marca duplicata libram efficit quae dividitur in 16 uncias.* In England it equalled  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a pound, 13 shillings and 4 pence.

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2. *Pirus* [*Pirrus*, *Pyrrus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Firuz* (Ibn el-Athir : Kamâl ad-din), *Feirus* (W. of Tyre.), *Daciens* (*Chans. d'Ant.*, probably a confusion with *Yagi Sian*)]: he has been variously described as a Turk, an Armenian, and a Persian, a convert to Mohammedanism, a convert to Christianity, and an Armenian Christian. The story of his treachery was embroidered and elaborated by writers on both sides. It is found in a picturesque form in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, where Daciens li Turs, influenced by what he hears of 'the army of God' (*l'ost Dieu*) from his son, who has been a prisoner in the Crusaders' camp and has become a Christian, dreams that God has commanded him to deliver Antioch. After conferring with Bohemund, and murdering his own too-inquisitive wife, he betrays the city, and is finally baptized with his son. Fulcher of Chartres, who calls the treachery which gave Antioch to the Crusaders *fraudem et non fraudem*, makes Christ appear twice to 'a certain Turk' and bid him surrender Antioch to the Christians. Ralph of Caen and Kamâl ad-din treat the treachery as the result of a grudge against Yagi-Sian. The simple statement of the Anonymous is probably accurate enough. Bohemund himself, in the letter which the Crusading leaders sent to Urban II after the death of the bishop of le Puy (F. of Chartres, R. iii. 351) writes: *Ego Boamundus, conventione facta cum quodam Turco, qui ipsam mihi tradidit civitatem, scalas . . . muro*

*applicui.* (Cf. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*; von Sybel, *op. cit.*; *Chans. d'Antioche.*)

3. *pulsabat*: examined, questioned.

7-8. *Tres turres custodio*: the fortifications of Antioch, *muris et turribus et antemuralibus munita* (R. of Agiles) were 'erected by Justinian, and remodelled in the tenth century by the engineers of John Zimisces and Basil II' (Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, Bk. vii. c. ii, pp. 27-28). The city was taken from the Saracens by Nicephorus Phocas and again captured by the Seljuk Turks in 1084. The system of fortification was justly celebrated, and, combined with the natural defences of mountain and river, rendered the place almost impregnable. In c. xxxii the Anonymous says that the city was enclosed with a double wall with 450 towers on the 'greater' wall. Sir Charles Oman gives a clear reconstruction of the defences in his *Art of War*, vol. ii, Bk. vii. c. ii, and a plan of the siege and battle of Antioch (vol. i, Plates vii, viii). There was 'a line of curtain, in which towers were placed at frequent but irregular intervals'. The towers had three storeys, and were about 60 feet high. 'No one could walk for a quarter of a mile along the enceinte without passing through six or seven towers'. It was thus quite possible for Firuz to guard three towers, though Ralph of Caen only mentions one. The tower by which the Crusaders entered the city was at the north-western corner, on the mountain flank, above the Gate of St. George. W. of Tyre calls it the tower of the 'Two Sisters', *turris quae vulgari appellatione dicitur duarum Sororum*. (Cf. plans in Rey, *Architecture Militaire des Croisés en Syrie*, Paris, 1871; E. Heyck, *Die Kreuzzüge*, 1900, p. 39, pp. 10-11, Plates. Cf. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*; von Sybel, *op. cit.*)

18. *ingeniare*: here, to storm with military engines.

26. *Azimitarum*: from  $\xi\mu\eta$ , fermentum. Applied to those who used unleavened bread for the Sacrament of the Mass. Here it may refer to Maronites and Armenian Christians, but the name was often given by the Greeks to the Latin Catholics.

53. *Malam coronam*: 'Evil tonsure'. The *corona* or 'crown' was the clerical tonsure.

64. *ascendit Boamundus*: Hagenmeyer and the *Recueil* editors here read *descendit*, with Tudebod, and explain it as 'dismounted'. Bohemund 'got down' from his horse. Guib. of Nogent has *de equo desiluit*.

68. *scalam*. From the letter of the Crusading leaders to Urban II (F. of Chartres, R. iii. 350, G.) it appears that Bohemund himself first fastened the ladder to the wall. *Ego Boamundus . . . scalas ante diem parum muro applicui.* It was a rope-ladder, made of hide, according to Alb. of Aix. When it

broke, Firuz is said by Albert to have thrown down a rope, that the ladder might be made fast again. One Eastern chronicler makes the Franks get into the city by a grated window, which Firuz opens.

69. *merulas*: an Italian form. Ramparts, battlements; French *créneau* (cf. Ducange, *Gloss.*, *sub voc.*) *Menia, moenia*, in MSS. *B* and *E*, and in the *Recueil* edition. The English *merlon*, the part of the crenelling between the embrasures.

73-4. *Micro Francos echo me*: Μικροὶ Φραγκοὶ ἔχομεν. The only Greek sentence in the book, and the Anonymous thinks it prudent to translate it (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.*, *Einleit.*, p. 38).

76-7. *seruiens Longobardus*: Baudri calls this Lombard *Paganus*, and makes him the first to mount the ladder. R. of Agiles and R. of Caen ascribe that honour to a Frenchman, *Fulcherius . . . frater Budelli Carnotensis* (cf. c. iv) or *Gonel Carnotensis*, (R of Caen).

79. *tres turre habemus*: were these the three towers which had been entrusted to Firuz? Von Sybel (*op. cit.*) treats the statement in the *Gesta* (c. xx. 7. 8) that Firuz guarded three towers as an error on the part of the Anonymous.

82-3. *Nos . . . clamabamus*: the Anonymous took part in the attack. He entered the city by the postern, not by the ladder.

86. *fratrem . . . Purri*: in the *Chanson d'Antioche* Firuz urges his brother to become a Christian, and when he refuses, calls on the Frankish barons, and his brother is killed by Count Robert of Flanders.

90. *porta . . . in sinistra parte*: R. of Agiles describes this *porta* as *posterula*. Albert of Aix calls it *posticum*. It was probably one of the small posterns of which there were several in the west wall. It would be, as Hagenmeyer points out, to the north of the tower of the Two Sisters, in the direction of the Orontes.

97. *castello*: the citadel of Antioch. It stood on the middle spur of Mt. Casius, to the south of the city: *in medio collis castellum aliud, quod lingua Graeca Colax* (Gr. κόλαξ) *vocatur* (R. of Agiles); *castrum, quod in rupe celsa est situm* (F. of Chartres). Bohemund planted his standard on the opposite hill, which was lower than the height on which the citadel was built. The *castrum* in which the flying Turks took refuge was this citadel.

106. *Cassianus* [*Yagi Sian*; *Bagui-Syan* (Ibn el-Athir), *Jaghi-Seian* (Abulfeda), *Garsion* (*Chans. d'Ant.*)]: for other forms of this name cf. Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* xx. 10, note 66]: Abulfeda and W. of Tyre (Lib. IV, c. xi) say that he was a Turk of the family of Alp Arslan (Belfetoh, W. of Tyre). The great Sultan Malik Shah, his kinsman, is said to have placed

him in charge of Antioch in 1086 (Matth. of Edessa). He was a very powerful prince, described by R. of Caen as second only to the Sultan of Persia. (Cf. von Sybel, *op. cit.*, c. viii; Le Prévost, *Ord. Vit.* iii. 541.)

109. *Tancredi terram*: Hagenmeyer understands this to refer to the *Montanea Tancredi* on the west and south-west of Antioch (cf. c. xiv). Le Prévost (*Ord. Vit.* iii. 541) explains it as that part of Cilicia which Tancred had already conquered, including the towns of Mamistra, Alexandretta, Laodicea, &c.

110. *casale*: a village. Cf. Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis* lxii, § 310, 'Et ainsi mena le roy jusques au kasel'.

113-14. *truncaueruntque caput*: 'Caput vero mirae grossitudinis erat, aures latissimae et pilosae, capilli cani cum barba, quae a mento usque ad umbilicum eius profluebat' Albert of Aix, *R. iv*, p. 407; *Lib. iv*, c. xxvi).

117. *bizanteis*: The bezant or byzant was a gold coin, which took its name from Byzantium or Constantinople, where it was first struck. Originally it seems to have equalled the Roman *solidus* or *aureus*, but later it varied in value from about twenty English shillings to ten shillings or less. There were also silver bezants, and Ducange says that the Sultans of Iconium struck 'Saracen' bezants. The term was not used by the Greeks themselves. (Murray, *Oxford Dict.*; Ducange, *Gloss.*; Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xviii. 10, note 60.) Cf. W. of Malmesbury, *G.R. Lib. iv*, § 354, R.S. ii, p. 410. *Imperatoris nummi Bizantini vocati*.

## CHAPTER XXI. Page 46

1. *Curbaram*: the emir of Mosul, *Kerboga*, *Kerbogha*, *Kerbuga* or *Kurbugha*, called *Kiwam ed-daula*, Pillar of the Kingdom. His name is variously given by the western chroniclers as *Curbaram*, *Curbaran*, *Corbalan* or *Corbaan* (*Tudebod*), *Corbaga* or *Corbaras* (*R. of Agiles*), *Corbagath* (*F. of Chartres*), *Corbanus* or *Curbanas* (*Hist. belli sacri*), *Corbarans d'Oliferne* (*Chans. d'Antioche*), &c. As an explanation of *Oliferne*, Paulin Paris suggests either Mesopotamia, a region to which this name is given in the *chansons de geste*, or Aleppo. Hagenmeyer tentatively connects it with Botrun (*Offrun* in *W. of Tyre*). As Emir of Mosul Kerboga was one of the greatest vassals of the Persian Sultan. *F. of Chartres* describes him as *dux et satrapa regis Persarum*; Albert of Aix as *secundus a rege*.

1-2. *Soldani Persiae*: Barkiarok, Barkiyāroq, the Persian Sultan who ruled at Baghdad from 1092 to 1102. He was a Seljuk Turk, the eldest son of Malik Shah. *Soldan* or *Sultan* is an Arabic word, meaning King, sovereign, power, dominion. not, as Ordericus Vitalis explains it, *quasi solus dominus, quia*

*cunctis praeest Orieniis principibus.* Cf. *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, Lib. I, c. iii: *Et sicut principes nostri imperatores dicuntur vel reges, sic apud illos, qui praeminent Soldani, quasi soli dominantes, nominantur* (*Memorials, &c.*, of *Richard I*, vol. i, R.S.).

10-11. *Calipha illorum Apostolico*: cf. c. i. Cf. R. of Agiles (R. iii, 277, H.): *Papa Turcorum . . . de genere Mahumet* (Mohammed). The Abbāsid Caliph at Baghdad, Al-Mostadher billah reigned from 1094 to 1118.

11. *iter longae viae*: Kerboga seems to have spent some time in besieging Edessa on his way to relieve Antioch.

11-12. *Hierosolymitanus Ammiralius*: Mo'in ed Daula Sokmān, son of Ortok. When in 1095 his brother, the emir of Jerusalem, was put into fetters by Dekak, emir of Damascus, ed Daula Sokman intervened and took possession of Jerusalem. He had allied with Ridwan of Aleppo, Dekak's brother, against the Franks at Harenc in February 1098, and he now responded to Yagi Sian's appeal for help, though they had formerly been enemies.

13. *Rex Damasci*: Dekak, emir of Damascus. He was the brother of Ridwan, emir of Aleppo, and the son of the Sultan Tutusch. His stepfather and *Atābeg* or minister was Tughtigīn, the *Doldequinus* of William of Tyre.

16. *Curtos*: Kurdistan takes its name from the Kurds, an Aryan people, which gave birth to Saladin. 'From time immemorial the Kurds have led the same wild pastoral life in the mountain tracts between Persia and Asia Minor'. (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin* (*Heroes of the Nations*), p. 4.)

23. *collegium*: *exercitum*, army.

24. *Sensadolus*: Shems ed daula, son of Yagi Sian. With his brother he was sent to the Mohammedan princes to appeal for help against the Franks. He went to Damascus and probably to Emesa and Arabia, while his brother, Mohammed Asfar, appealed to Kerboga and the eastern emirs.

28. *oppido*: this *oppidum* was the citadel of Antioch.

31. *patrauere*: *patrare*, to bring to pass, accomplish.

36. *proficu*: *proficuum*, i. e. profit, gain.

48. *turrim*: the tower at the east end of the Iron Bridge.

50-1. *maiore bello*: the battle of June 28, 1098, with Kerboga.

52-3. *duo flumina*: the Orontes and its tributary the Karasu or Japhta, which flows into it to the east of Antioch, between the city and the Iron Bridge (Hagenmeyer, *G.F. xxi. 5*, note 36).

54. *ammiraliūm*: the emir Ahmed ibn Meruan (Kamāl ad-dīn). Fulcher of Chartres (R. iii. 347) calls him *Maroane*. He had subsequently to surrender the citadel to the Crusaders.

He eventually became a Christian (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxii. 1, note 4; xxix. 11).

59-63. *adhuc . . . possum . . . pruisquam . . . stimulo*: The text of Bongars now becomes somewhat turgid and long-winded, and the other MSS. make 'cuts' in the interest both of brevity and of sense. The above passages, which are omitted in the *Recueil* edition and in all the MSS. except G (Bongars), are merely redundant. In later cases the text seems to be actually corrupt.

78. *nomina*: this reading is also found in Tudebod and in the *Historia belli sacri*. All the extant MSS. and the *Recueil* edition have *omnia*.

79. *Amazonia flumina*: the Amazons, the warlike women whose story was familiar to all medieval readers of Orosius, were said to dwell on the river Thermodon, in north-eastern Asia Minor, in the province of Pontus.

82. *Scribe . . . chartas*: Comte Riant regards the letter of Kerboga to the Caliph as a clumsy imitation of genuine Mohammedan letters which had fallen into the hands of the Crusaders, but he does not reject its substance as impossible. Hagenmeyer treats it as pure fiction, on a par with the conversations between Kerboga and his mother. The construction of the letter is suspiciously awkward. It introduces phrases which the Anonymous has used elsewhere in other connexions, such as the very improbable oath *per Machomet et per omnia Deorum nomina* (cf. cc. xxii, xxxix), or the description of the Christian kinsmen of the Turks, who were driven from Romania and Syria and 'the royal city', Antioch (cf. c. xi). In conclusion, Kerboga boasts of his resolve to win, not only the Asiatic lands and Bulgaria, but, an unexpected addition, Apulia, the home-land of the Anonymous, a touch which betrays the probable source of the letter. Such fictitious letters and speeches were quite in the taste of the time, and were, indeed, a recognized form of literary expression, in which boys were trained by school exercises.

90. *patrare*: here meaning *generare*.

94. *heu! certare*: the passage *qualiter . . . purissimum* is only found in Bongars, Tudebod, and the *Historia belli sacri*. The text in Bongars is evidently corrupt, and Hagenmeyer is probably justified in following Tudebod and the *Hist. belli sacri* in reading *certare* for *certate*, *colata* for *colorata*, and *ceu* for *seu*, readings which are adopted in this edition. It may have been this obscurity which caused most of the copyists to omit the whole passage, but the words *certare*, *colata*, *ceu*, may also have been read as *certate*, *colorata*, *seu*, by Bongars himself, or by his printer. There is other evidence that he had some difficulty in deciphering his MSS. (c. ix). In connexion

with the word *colata*, Hagenmeyer calls attention to Malachi, iii. 3 : *et purgabit filios Levi et colabit eos quasi aurum et quasi argentum* (G.F. xxi. 7, note 60).

104. *Indianam* : Bongars has *Iudaeam* and the editors of the *Recueil* accept this without question. Hagenmeyer prefers the reading *Indianam* in Tudebod (*Codd. A, C, D*) and in the *Hist. belli sacri*. This agrees with the parallel passage in c. xxi, where the Anonymous also speaks of the past conquests of the Christians in Rūm and Syria, and of their desire to extend their boundaries 'beyond the confines of Chorāsān' and to wipe out the Turkish name 'beyond the Amazonian rivers'. Upper (*superior*) India corresponds better than Upper Judaea with this description and with the geographical terminology of the Anonymous, while the change from *Indianam* to *Iudaeam* or *Iudeam* would be easily made by a scribe. Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.*, Chant vii. x : 'li emperieres d'Inde supérieur', and the comment of P. Paris (ii, p. 149, note 1) : 'L'Inde supérieur fut bientôt après célèbre en Occident, comme empire du Prestre-Jean'. For the reading *Iudaeam*, however, it may be urged that it is found, not only in Bongars, but in two MSS. (*B* and *E*) of Tudebod.

1. *Mater vero eiusdem Curbaram* : 'Calabre' or 'Kalabra' (*Rom. de Godefr. de Bouillon*), mother of Kerboga, is not mentioned by the eastern chroniclers, but in the western romances and the chronicles which drew from them, she appears as a wise old sorceress, full of years and of occult lore : 'De la loi Païenie fu moult sage lettrée' (*Chans. d'Ant.* ch. i. xxviii). 'Vieille fu et mousue (blear-eyed) et des ars bien sachant', 'Del soleil, de la lune et d'estoile tournant' (*Ibid.*, ch. v. xxxviii). An elaborate and fantastic tale grew out of the modest fancies of the Anonymous and Tudebod. The *Chanson d'Antioche* makes 'Calabre', the daughter of 'Rubiant', 'lord of the two Gates of the world'. The *Roman de Godefroi* says that she was the sister of both Yagi Sian and Ortok (*Corbados*) of Jerusalem. (Cf. B. of Dol., Guib. of Nogent, Robert the Monk.)

2. *statim : denuo* in the MSS. and in the *Recueil*. The *Chans. d'Ant.* mentions more than one visit of Kerboga's mother to her son. She appears first in the camp before Civitot (Ch. i. xxvii) and again later, when Kerboga is preparing to attack the Franks at Antioch (Ch. v. xxxviii (probably an interpolation), Ch. vii. vii seq.).

34. *Dissipa . . . volunt* : Psalm lxvii. 31 (Vulgate).

35-6. *Effunde . . . inuocauerunt* : Psalm lxxviii. 6, *Psalmus Asaph* (Vulgate).

42. *fili Christi: filii Dei* (*Hist. belli sacri*). Cf. John i. 12, xiii. 33; Rom. viii. 14, 16 seq.; Gal. iii. 26.

43-4. *fili... promissionis*: Rom. ix. 4, 8. Cf. Gal. iii. 17 seq.

44. *haeredes Christi*: Rom. viii. 17.

46-7. *A Solis... contra vos*: cf. Deut. xi. 24, 25; Jos. i. 4, 5.

52. *euerteris*: *evertō*, to overturn, overthrow, subvert, destroy.

54. *exertia*: *exserō*, to thrust out, stretch out. Guib. of Nogent has *effusa ira*.

57-8. *perditurus... habita*: thou wilt lose all thy present possessions.

68-9. *in nostra pagina et in gentilium voluminibus*: *nostra pagina* refers to the Koran, though it contains no such prophecies. The *volumina gentilium* are the non-Mohammedan books, the prophetic writings of the Scriptures and perhaps also the *Sibylline Oracles*, Apocalyptic writings composed by Jews, and later by Christians of the second and third centuries A. D., in imitation of the ancient Sibylline Books, to win the heathen to their faith. Liutprand, who visited Constantinople in A. D. 968, writes in his *Relatio de legatione Const.*, c. 38: *Habent Graeci et Sarraceni libros, quos opareis, sive visiones Danielis vocant, ego autem Sibyllinos; in quibus scriptum reperitur, quot annis imperator quisque vivat; quae sint futura, eo imperante, tempora; pax an simultas, secundae Saracenorum res an adversae.* Many prophecies, early and later, of the eternal dominion of the Roman Empire and of the subjection of the heathen to Christian rulers were probably known to the Anonymous (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxii. 8, notes 33, 34, 35; *Enc. Brit.*, ed. 11, *Sibylline Oracles*; H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I, c. i). Cf. Godfrey of Viterbo: *Pantheon in Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* xxii. 375, for one such prophecy: *Rex Romanorum omne sibi vendicet regnum christianum. Omnes ergo insulas et civitates paganorum devastabit et universa idolorum destruet templa et omnes paganos ad baptismum convocabit, et per omnia tempora crux Christi erigetur.*

76. *sortes*: 'Oracula seu responsa sive syngrapha, in quibus responsa inscripta continebantur.' Froben, *Thesaur. ling. lat.* iii. 722, (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxii. 8, note 41).

90-3. *omnipotens est nomen eius... metuenda*: Gen. xvii. 1; Exod. xx. 11; 1 Reg. viii. 39, 40; Ps. xi. 4, cxxx. 4 (Authorized Version).

#### CHAPTER XXIII. Page 54

3. *castrum*: the fort on the south side of Antioch (c. xx), the citadel.

*Nos autem*: the Anonymous, with the army of Bohemund.

7. *angusta porta*: this must have been a gate in the southern wall, either the Iron Gate, or a smaller gate near it. The

fight took place near the citadel (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxiii, 1, note 6).

9. *quinta feria*: June 10, 1098. On the following day Arvedus Tudebodus, the chronicler's brother, was killed (cf. note, c. xxx, 62. *Introd.* p. xi, note 2).

10-11. *Wilhelmus de Grentemaisnil et Albericus frater eius*: the name *Grentemaisnil*, *Grantmesnil*, *Granduna*; *Grandis mainil* (R. of Agiles), *Grande masneda* (*Hist. belli sacri*), *Grente mesnil* (*Chans. d'Ant.*), is derived from *Grandmesnil* in Normandy, near Lisieux. These two brothers were the younger sons of Hugh, baron, sheriff of Leicestershire, &c., an Anglo-Norman feudatory who with his brother Robert was the second founder and restorer of the Norman monastery of St. Evroul. William of Grantmesnil married Robert Guiscard's daughter Mabel; thus he was Bohemund's brother-in-law. In the *Chans. d'Ant.* (Ch. iii. xxii) Baldwin puts him in charge of Tarsus in Cilicia. He covered himself with shame by his flight from Antioch, with Alberic, and, according to Tudebod and other sources, with another brother, Ivo or Ives. Alberic and Ivo had taken part in the rebellion of Robert of Normandy against his father in 1077. Ivo inherited the family estates in England. He seems to have died on pilgrimage (Hagenmeyer (*op. cit.*), *Le Prévost* (*op. cit.*), *Chans. d'Ant.*, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (Hugh), xxviii. 159).

11. *Wido Trursellus* [*Trossellus*, *Trussellus*, *Guido Rubeus* (R. of Caen)]: Lord of Montlhéry (*Dép. Seine et Oise*). He is said to have held the office of seneschal of France and to have forfeited it by his flight from Antioch (*Rec. Hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. occ.* iii. 650, note i; iv. 64, note e; 563, note c). Alb. of Aix says that he took part in the Crusade of 1101.

11-12. *Lambertus Pauper*: *Le Prévost* (Ord. *Vit.* iii. 545, note 3) identifies this Lambert with Lambert Count of Clermont near Liège, who is said to have returned to Europe with Peter the Hermit and to have been one of the founders of the house of Augustinian canons at Neumoustier, near Huy, in the Liège diocese, where the Hermit is supposed, on somewhat doubtful authority, to have ended his days. Paulin Paris doubts this identification, and Hagenmeyer shows the inadequacy of the evidence both for the identification and for the whole story of the connexion of the Hermit with the Count of Clermont, though he is inclined to think that Peter may have ended as an inmate of Neumoustier (Hagenmeyer, *P. der Eremit*, 28, 282, 296, 364; Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 353).

14. *demissi sunt per murum*: *Funambuli* ('rope-dancers') *vocati sunt* (Ord. *Vit.* iii. 545-6). Cf. Gibbon, *Dec. and Fall*, c. lviii: 'the opprobrious epithet of the rope-dancers was

applied to the deserters who dropt in the night from the walls of Antioch.'

16. *Multique alii fugerunt*: MS. C adds *Wilhemus de Sichys*: MSS. A, H, (cf. p. 145), mention *Guillermus de Archis*. Other names are given by Tudebod, the *Hist. belli sacri*, R. of Caen, &c. Alb. of Aix includes William the Carpenter.

17. *ad naues*: the Greek and western ships at the Port of St. Simeon.

27-8. *murum inter nos et illos*: this wall was on the north-west of the city in the valley between the citadel and the hill on which Bohemund had planted his standard (cf. c. xx).

#### CHAPTER XXIIII. Page 55

2. *castellum*: the citadel.

3. *quidam sacerdos*: Tudebod calls him *Stephanus*, R. of Agiles: *Stephanus, cognomine Valenti, Stephanus Valentinus*. He is said by R. of Agiles to have seen Adhémar of Le Puy in a vision, during the siege of Arca.

5. *ecclesia S. Mariae*: this church, which is described by Fulcher of Chartres as round, *forma rotunda*, is said to have been built by Justinian. During the Turkish rule in Antioch, it was the only church which remained to the Christians.

9. *integra crux*: a cross complete in all its parts. R. of Agiles gives these visions in great detail.

27. *domum meam*: the church of St. Peter, the largest and most important Christian church in Antioch stood on a hill, in the southern quarter. The Turks turned it into a mosque. Cf. R. of Agiles (R iii. 258, D): *quam antea Sarraceni Mahu mariam fecerunt*. B. of Dol says that Urban II specially mentioned this church in his address at Clermont. When the Franks took the city the church of St. Peter was rededicated to Christian worship.

33. *Congregati sunt*: the editors of the *Recueil* refer to *Processionale Rothomagense, sub rubrica: In tempore belli*. Cf. R. of Agiles (R iii. 256), where Christ bids Stephen Valentinus tell the bishop of Le Puy that when the people go into battle they are to say: *Congregati sunt inimici nostri, et gloriantur in virtute sua; contere fortitudinem illorum, Domine, et disperge illos: ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis, nisi tu Deus noster*. (Cf. Num. x. 35; Ps. lxviii. 2, cxliv. 6; 1 Reg. viii. 60; Eccl. xxxvi. 5; Exod. xiv. 14, 25; Deut. i. 30; Jos. x. 14, xxiii. 3.) The *versus* is the doxology: *Gloria Patri, &c.*

45. *Tancredus . . . iurauit*: R. of Agiles makes the princes swear: *quod de Antiochia non fugerent neque egrederentur nisi de communi consilio omnium*. He says that the people were much comforted by this oath, for they thought that the princes wanted to fly to the port.

## CHAPTER XXV. Page 57

2. *Petrus* : R. of Agiles, the fullest authority for the Invention of the Holy Lance, of which he was an eye-witness, gives this visionary the name of Peter Bartholomew (*Petrus Bartholomeus*). Ord. Vit. and others call him *Abraham*. He was a Provençal, not a priest, but the servant of a wealthier pilgrim. R. of Agiles describes him as *pauper quidam rusticus*, a peasant, illiterate and ignorant. He was afraid at first to reveal his visions lest it should be supposed that he was inventing them to get food from the bishop of Le Puy and the Count of Toulouse. For his ordeal and death, cf. R. of Agiles (R iii. 168 seq.) and F. of Chartres.

7. *lanceam Salvatoris nostri: lancea dominica, qua Salvatoris nostri latus Longini manibus perforatum fuit* (Ep. *prin. ad Urban* : F. of Chartres, R iii. 351). There was an early tradition that the lance preserved in St. Peter's Church was the lance of St. Mercurius, not the Holy Lance of Longinus (cf. Röhricht, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzz.*, 141, note 1; *Romania*, ix. 34, note 1; xix. 564, note 1). [Cf. Introd., pp. xv, xxviii.]

## CHAPTER XXVI. Page 58

1. *castello* : the citadel.

11. *Illi vero* : either the three knights, all of whom are killed in the corresponding passages in the *Chans. d'Ant.* (Chh. vii, xxi), and in Rob. the Monk (R iii. 824), or, more probably, the two Turks.

12. *Hugo li Forcenez* : Bongars has *Hugo Cli Forcenez*, probably a printer's or copyist's error, but significant as showing that his MSS. may have been corrupt, and that his printed text is not infallible. Hagenmeyer and the *Recueil* use the form adopted in the text of this edition. MS. C reads *hugo visamus*. Hagenmeyer gives the reading *insanus* from MS. A (cf. p. 145). Mr. W. H. Stevenson has pointed out to me that the O.Fr. participle *forseenes* means insane, out of one's senses. Cf. mod. Fr. *forcené*. Tudebod gives the name as *lo Forsenet, lo Forsennet*, the *Hist. belli sacri* as *Forsonea*. The *Chans. d'Ant.* and Rob. the Monk mention the incident, but omit Hugh's name. He was apparently an Italian, a follower of Godfrey of Monte Scabioso. Thus it falls to the Italian Anonymous to preserve the name of a brave compatriot. This episode does not seem to be identical, as von Sybel thought, with the attack on a tower by thirty Turks, described by R. of Agiles (R iii. 258, E). (Cf. Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* xxvi, 1, notes 8, 9.)

12-13. *Gosfredi de Monte Scaioso* : *Monte Scabioso*, cc. iv, ix. He fell at the battle of Dorylaeum.

18. *Cassiani palatium* : the situation of this palace is uncertain. It may have been the *palatium imperatoris*, north of

the citadel. It was subsequently granted to Raymond of Toulouse.

20-1. *portam comitis S. Aegidii*: the Bridge Gate or the Dog Gate (Hagenmeyer, G.F. xxvi. 2, note 15). The Bridge Gate was opposite *Machumaria*, the fort of R. of Toulouse.

21. *portam ducis Godefridi*: the 'Duke's Gate' in the north wall, east of the Bridge Gate, and between the Bridge Gate and the Dog Gate.

25-6. *pro . . . ecclesiis*: Bongars, and the *Recueil* following Bongars and *E*, read *pro aliis ecclesiis*. Hagenmeyer inserts *ecclesia Sancti Petri et Sanctae Mariae* between *pro* and *aliis*, from MSS. *A* (San Lorenzo del Escorial, late 12th cent.) and *B* (Bibl. Nat. Madrid, late 13th cent. to early 14th cent.). This emendation has been adopted in the text, as it seems necessary to explain the *aliis ecclesiis* in the passage. Tudebod (*codd. B, E*) has: *timens quod ecclesia Sancti Petri, et ecclesia Sanctae Mariae arderent.* (Cf. *Hist. belli sacri*, Rob. the Monk., Guib. of Nogent, *ad loc.*) MS. *C* of the *Gesta* omits the whole passage from *Boamundus* to *ecclesiis*.

33-4. *habet aquam*: *aquam*, which is needed to complete the sense, is here inserted from Tudebod, followed by Hagenmeyer.

36. *machinas*: *fecerunt . . . contra hostes murum calceum et propugnacula*; *et munierunt haec multis petrariis* (R. of Agiles R iii. 259, D).

43. *Boamundi portam*: the Gate of St. Paul, or East Gate (cf. cc. xii, xvii).

49-50. *Sanctae Christianitatis*: Bongars' text here reads *Dei et sanctae Trinitatis*. The emendation *Sanctae Christianitatis* appears to be justified. Tudebod, in the corresponding passage, has *sanctae Christianitatis inimicis*, and in c. x the Anonymous calls the Turks *inimici Dei et sanctae Christianitatis*. Hagenmeyer adopts this reading, which is also found in the *Hist. belli sacri*, but he omits *sanctae* (G.F. xxxvi, 4, note 29).

58. *cardui*: thistles.

## CHAPTER XXVII. Page 60

1. *Imprudens . . . Stephanus*: for Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, cf. c. viii. The epithet *imprudens* is applied by William of Malmesbury to his son, King Stephen of England. He returned to the Holy Land in 1101 and was killed fighting against the Saracens in 1102. The western chroniclers who wrote after he had retrieved his reputation by a glorious death judge him less unfavourably than his immediate contemporaries.

3. *ductor nostrorum*: *caput nostrorum* (Tud.): *quem . . . pro*

*dictatore alii principes elegerant* (R. of Agiles). In Stephen's second letter to his wife he writes : *Nam cunctii principes nostri communi consilio totius exercitus me dominum suum atque omnium suorum actuum provisorem atque gubernatorem, etiam me nolente usque ad tempus constituerunt.*

5. *Alexandreta* : *Alexandriola* (R. of Caen), *Alexandria minor* (Alb. of Aix, W. of Tyre), *Iscanderum* (Abulfeda), lies north of Antioch near the bay of the same name. It had been fortified and is therefore called *castrum* by the Anonymous. Alb. of Aix says that Tancred destroyed its walls and gates in his first Cilician expedition.

10. *proximam montaneam* : one of the heights of the Amanus range (Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* xxvii. 1, note 7).

15. *Philomenam* : Alb. of Aix says that Stephen took ship from Alexandretta and landed on a Greek island. Here he heard that Alexius and his army had arrived at Finiminis, where he joined them. Philomena is Philomelium, now Akshehr, in Phrygia, between Dorylaeum and Iconium. R. of Caen puts the meeting at Cuthai, the modern Kiuthahia, south-west of Dorylaeum. For the interview cf. Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* xxvii, notes ; Chalandon, *Alex. Comnène*, p. 203 ; von Sybel, *op. cit.*

21. *ducis* : here in MSS. *A*, *C*, *H* is inserted a passage (cf. p. 61, foot-notes) describing how one of the 'rope-dancers', William de Archis (cf. note, c. xxiii. 16), told the Emperor that Bohemund had sworn that if Alexius came to Antioch he should lose his head. From this Hagenmeyer infers the comparatively late date of this group of MSS. The passage, he argues, belongs to a period when the hostility between Bohemund and Alexius had become marked, from 1105 to 1108, or later. William de Archis is spoken of as having been a knight, but as being now a monk. (Hagenmeyer, *G. F.* xxvii. 2, note 13 ; *Einl.* § 7.)

22. *Widonem fratrem Boamundi* : *Wido*, *Guido*, or *Guy* was Bohemund's step-brother, son of Robert Guiscard and of his second wife Sigelgaita. In the romances he plays a more prominent part than in sober history. (Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.* and *Cheval. au Cygne*.)

58. *semincano* : *semincanus*, half-grey, grizzled.

65. *cum venerint Turci* : 'craignant, et c'est là qu'apparaît son entière bonne foi en cette circonstance, que les Turks ne missent à profit leur victorie pour pénétrer en Asie Mineure, Comnène ordonna de ravager tout le pays . . . afin que l'ennemi ne trouvât aucune ressource s'il pénétrait sur le territoire grec' (Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 203). Anna Comnena says that the Emperor feared the advance of the Turks on Constantinople, and that a Turkish army under the son of the Sultan of Persia was actually marching against the Greek troops.

## CHAPTER XXVIII. Page 63

1-3. *Nos . . . peruenimus*: the Anonymous was apparently in the church of St. Peter at the time of the Invention of the Holy Lance, though he was not one of the thirteen diggers of whom he speaks.

4-5. *tredecim homines*: R. of Agiles and Tudebod say that there were twelve men. R. of Agiles specially mentions the presence of the Bishop of Orange (*Aurasicensis*), Count Raymond of Toulouse and his chaplain, Pontius de Baladuno, and Faraldus de Tornaiz.

12. *securo eloquio*: bold, decided speech.

16. *Herluinum*: *dragomandus Petri* (Tudebod). He knew two languages, Arabic and Provençal, according to Hagenmeyer, and acted as interpreter for Peter the Hermit on the mission to Kerboga which had been decided on in the Council of the Princes.

26-8. *effici Christiani . . . Christianos afficiatis*? Hagenmeyer (G. F. xxvii. 3, note 16), takes *afficere* in this passage to mean 'to benefit', and regards it as intended to heighten the ironic effect of the question. It seems more likely that *effici* and *afficiatis* are in apposition, and that *afficere* is used in the sense of 'to injure'.

42. *effeminatis gentibus*: the Greeks were regarded as effeminate by the western peoples as well as by the Turks. W. of Tyre (xv. 3), speaks of them as *effeminati Graecorum populi* (Hagenmeyer, G.F. xxviii. 4, note 23).

## CHAPTER XXIX. Page 65

5-6. *sex acies*: this chapter describes the great battle with Kerboga of June 28, 1098. The number of the divisions, *acies*, or *turmae*, their order, leaders, &c., vary considerably in the different chronicles; though there is substantial agreement, they differ in details. The Anonymous and his plagiarists give a vivid picture of the action, which should be compared with the corresponding passages of R. of Agiles. Of modern writers, Sir Charles Oman (*Art of War*, vol. i, Bk. v, c. iii, p. 282 seq., Plates vii, viii) has given a valuable account of the battle from the military point of view, von Sybel and Röhricht (*opp. cit.*) may also be consulted. Hagenmeyer has very full notes on this subject.

11. *portans . . . lanceam*: Raymond of Agiles actually bore the Holy Lance. *Vidi ego haec quae loquor*, he writes, *et Dominicam lanceam ibi ferebam*. Ordericus Vitalis makes Peter Bartholomew the Lance-bearer.

12. *cum exercitu Raimundi comitis*: Raymond of Toulouse himself remained at Antioch with 200 men, to watch the

Turkish garrison of the citadel, as he was too ill (*valde infirmatur*, R. of Agiles) for more active service.

23-4. *portam quae est ante Machomariam*: the Bridge Gate. This passage shows that the Anonymous was a layman and a soldier. (Hagenmeyer, G.F. xxix. 2, note 13.)

29. *suo ammiratio* [amiralio, Ha]: the name of this emir is not mentioned by the Anonymous, but Hagenmeyer is inclined to identify him with *Gelis Arslan*, *Gersaslan* in Fulcher's list of emirs (F. of Chartres, R iii. 347), with the *Roseleon* mentioned by Albert of Aix, and with the *Rouge-Lion* (*Rouges lions*) of the *Chans. d'Ant.* (ii. 361). *Rouge-Lion* corresponds to the Turkish name *Kizil-Arslan* (red lion), which is probably represented by Fulcher's *Gelis Arslan*. In the *Chans. d'Ant.* *Rouge-Lion* plays at chess with Kerboga just before the battle. This incident, without the name of Kerboga's partner, is found in R. of Agiles, in F. of Chartres, and in R. of Caen. (Introd. p. xxix, note 1).

33-4. *montaneam*: the range lying to the north of the Bridge Gate.

39. *Reinaldus*: W. of Tyre, following Albert of Aix, connects this Reinaldus with a certain Reinaldus of Tul (Toul), a follower of G. of Bouillon, who had taken part in the siege of Nicaea, and in Baldwin's expedition to Tarsus.

50-2. *Sancti Georgius, Mercurius et Demetrius*: for *St. George* cf. cc. ii, xxxvi. R. of Agiles (R iii. 290) mentions a later appearance of St. George to the priest Desiderius. He is also said to have appeared, with SS. Demetrius and Theodore at the battle of Dorylaeum. *St. Mercurius*, another soldier saint, was, if his legend may be believed, a Scythian, and the leader of the army of the Emperor Decius in the Persian war. He refused to worship false gods and was tortured, but an angel healed him. He was eventually put to death as a Christian. *St. Demetrius*, a native of Thessalonica and pro-consul of Achaia, was martyred under the Emperor Maximianus. The element of the marvellous enters also into his legend. The *Chans. d'Ant.* and Robert the Monk add to these three *St. Maurice*, the Christian hero of the Theban legion, 'qu'on tint por bon guerrier' (*Chans. d'Ant.*, Chh. viii, li).

54-5. *miserunt ignem in herbam*: R. of Agiles (R iii. 260) mentions the firing of the dry grass, but says that it was done that the Franks *qui gladios non formidabant, saltim ab igne corriperentur*.

57. *honorabilia spolia*: *onerabilia*; 'portable.'

71-2. *castellum Tancredi*: probably the fort at Harenc (cf. c. xvii).

81-2. *qui castellum custodiebat: castrum . . . admiratus quidam, qui in eo erat cum mille hominibus, Boamundo se reddidit* (Ép. ad. Urban, F. of Chartres, R iii. 351 G).

99. *baptizatus est ammiralius*: his conversion is mentioned

in the letter of the Princes to Urban II (cf. B. of Dol and R. the Monk). For this emir, cf. cc. xxi, xxii.

102. *terram*: the *Hist. belli sacri* says that Kerboga's tent was sent by sea to the church of St. Nicholas, at Bari, *ut laetaretur omnis Christiana plebs de triumpho, quem dedit populo suo Dominus super paganorum gentem*. (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxix. 12, note 56).

### CHAPTER XXX. Page 69

1-2. (*Deo...grates*): Bongars puts the second bracket after *referimus*, instead of after *grates*: another instance of careless printing.

11. *Hugonem Magnum*: he was charged to offer the Emperor the lordship of Antioch if he would fulfil his engagements to the Crusaders, make war on the Turks, and take the field in person (von Sybel, *op. cit.*, p. 376). With Hugh went Baldwin of Hainault (*de Monte*, cf. cc. ii, x).

13. *nec postea rediit*: Hugh eventually returned to France, but Baldwin of Hainault appears to have been either killed or taken prisoner in a skirmish with the Turks near Nicaea, on his way to Constantinople.

18. *Inuentum est in concilio*: Bongars has *Inuentum in*: the *est* has been supplied from *ER* and *Ha*.

29. *Raimundus Pileatus*: Albert of Aix makes this Provencal Raymond one of the besiegers of Nicaea and a notable leader in the battle with Kerboga. Cf. *Chans. d'Ant.* ii. 358. R. of Agiles calls him *miles nobilissimus et fortis* and notes his presence at the ordeal of Peter Bartholomew, when he rescued Peter from the excited populace (R iii. 284). Cf. c. xxxvii (cf. Vaissète, *Hist. du Languedoc*, ii).

33. *Talamania*: Tell-mannas, inhabited by Christian Syrians (*Rec., Hist. occ.* iv. 451).

46. *Marra*: Ma'arat en Nu'mān, on the caravan route from Aleppo to Emesa, two days' journey south of Aleppo. Cf. notes, c. xxxiii (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxx. 7, note 25).

56. *castrum*: Tell-mannas.

58-60. *viam carpere...victoria...ministrabat*: possible echoes of Virgil (cf. *Aen.* vi. 629, xi. 71, *Georg.* iii. 215 seq.; Hagenmeyer, *G.F.*, *Einleit.*, p. 38).

62. *congregati fuerant*: Tudebod adds: *quidam optimus miles Arnaldus scilicet Tudebovis interfectus est*. This may have been his brother. (Cf. note c. xxiii. 9. *Introd.* p. xi. note 2).

67-8. *Podiensis episcopus*: he died, possibly of a pestilence which was raging in Antioch, on August 1, 1098, and was buried in the Church of St. Peter, according to Albert of Aix and Guib. of Nogent, on the spot where the Holy Lance had been found. R. of Caen gives his epitaph (c. 95). But in life

he had doubted the genuineness of the Holy Lance, and Raymond of Agiles (R iii. 278) relates how he appeared after death to Peter Bartholomew and told him that for this scepticism he had suffered scourging and burning in hell. When his unifying influence was withdrawn, the dissensions among the princes became painfully apparent. For his relations with the future patriarch Arnulf cf. c. xxxix (cf. note, c. iii. 2-3).

## CHAPTER XXXI. Page 72

4. *Albara* [*Albaria* (c. xxxiii); *Barra* (R. of Agiles, R iii. 266)]: the modern *Kefr el Bara*, two days' journey to the south-east of Antioch, in the mountainous region east of the Orontes.

12. *oracula*: here *oraculum* stands for a temple, a place in which to pray.

13. *sapientissimum virum*: Peter of Narbonne was chosen to be bishop of Antioch. Bishop Adhémar, in the narrative of Raymond of Agiles, appeared to Peter Bartholomew and told him that the Count of Toulouse must choose a bishop in his place. This was done at Barra (Albara). The Count took counsel with the princes and clergy and then called the people together and Peter of Narbonne was chosen. The Count granted him half the city of Antioch and its territory (R. of Agiles, R iii. 301). The bishop accompanied the Crusading host to Jerusalem (cf. c. xxxviii).

17-18. *regressi sunt...maiores*: R. of Agiles says that after the death of Adhémar, *Boamundus in Romaniam est regressus, et dux Lotharingiae versus Roais profectus est*. By All Saints Day 1098 they were once more gathered together in Antioch.

26. *peierare*: the Count was afraid of perjuring himself by breaking his oath to the Emperor.

34. *cathedra*: here the special place in the Church in which stood the chair or throne of St. Peter, who was reputed to have been bishop of Antioch (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxi. 4, note 17). The bishops and magnates held their meeting in the church, a common medieval practice.

37-9. *Priusquam...voluerit*: Hagenmeyer explains this to mean: 'if we wait till Bohemund is willing to come with us, we shall never get to Jerusalem.' Raymond of Agiles gives an interesting account of the discussion in the church of St. Peter and of the impatience of the 'people' (*populus*) at the delay caused by the selfishness and ambition of the leaders. *Nos autem, they said, Christo pro quo venimus duce, iter nostrum aggrediamur* (R iii. 267).

39. *pares*: the use of this word for the *seniores* should be noted. The Count of Toulouse would submit to the judgement of his peers, saving his fealty to the Emperor.

45-6. *castrum de alta montanea*: while Bohemund fortified

the citadel, his rival Raymond of Toulouse fortified the palace of Yagi Sian and the tower over the Bridge Gate. The question of the lordship of Antioch was in suspense, and, as Raymond of Agiles says, 'discordant peace' was made between Bohemund and the Count.

48-9. *portam pontis*: here Hagenmeyer and the *Recueil* insert: *qui est ex parte Portus Sancti Simeonis*. Cf. foot-note p. 74, 49.

### CHAPTER XXXII. Page 74

Margin: *Situs urbis Antiochiae*. This marginal note in Bongars' text is probably due to a copyist rather than to the Anonymous himself. Hagenmeyer thinks that this whole chapter was inserted, out of its due place, when the Anonymous revised his book late in the year 1099 (*G.F.*, *Einleit*, p. 20; cf. notes, c. xii).

2-3. *quatuor montaneae*: spurs of the Mt. Casius range. Abulfeda says that the city is built on seven hills.

7. *monasteria*: Hagenmeyer suggests that among the 360 'monasteries' were counted cells and mountain hermitages. Other writers mention 40 or 60 monasteries.

9-10. *duobus muris*: for Justinian's wonderful walls, with their towers and defences, cf. c. xx, note 7-8, p. 120, and references. There are good descriptions in Oman, *Art of War*, and in Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxii. 2, notes, 9, 10. As the fortifications 'may have enclosed an area of some four square miles' (Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, p. 65), and as 'no one could walk for a quarter of a mile along the enceinte without passing through six or seven towers' (Oman, *op. cit.*), there was practically a chain of small castles encircling the city.

15. *Farfar*: the Orontes.

18. *septuaginta quinque reges*: Tudebod attempts to give their names. Seleucus Nicator founded the city about 300 B.C. He is said to have called it after his father Antiochus.

20-1. *octo menses et unum diem*: October 21, 1097 to June 3, 1098. Perhaps the month is reckoned as twenty-eight days, or four weeks, as Hagenmeyer suggests.

22. *tres hebdomadas*: Tudebod says that Kerboga besieged the city for twenty-six days.

### CHAPTER XXXIII. Page 75

4. *Rugia* [*Roia* (R. of Agiles), *Rubea* (Tudebod)]: Riha. It lies between Antioch and Marra, in the mountains to the east of the Orontes (cf. c. xi).

10. *comites*: the Counts of Toulouse and Flanders (R. of Agiles); Albert of Aix adds Godfrey and Eustace of Boulogne and Robert of Normandy.

13. *scalae: secunda die . . . si quatuor scalas plus habuissentus, capta esset civitas* (R. of Agiles).

17. *ligneum castrum*: Robert the Monk (Lib. VIII, c. ii) describes this siege-tower very carefully. It had three storeys: in the two upper ones were soldiers fully equipped and armed; in the lowest one were armed men who worked the wheels on which the tower ran. Others had to bring up a shelter, penthouse, or *testudo*, and to fill in the fosse or ditch, that the tower might be wheeled near to the wall (cf. Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, Bk. iii, c. vi).

20. *Euuardus venator*: *venator quidam, nomine Euuardus, qui spiritu buccinandi erat praeditus. Nam sono tumultuosae voces et adversarios exterrebant, et suos ad bella incitabant* (R. the Monk, Lib. VIII, c. ii). Robert the Monk should be read for the siege of Marra and also R. of Agiles.

23-4. *instrumentum*: apparently a mangon, *funda*, or sling, worked by torsion, rather than a *balista*, catapult, or 'magnified crossbow', worked by tension, but the various terms for these machines are used almost indiscriminately by medieval writers (Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, Bk. iii, c. vi, vol. ii, Bk. vii, c. iii).

26. *Graecos ignes*: *Ignis cum oleo et adipe mixtus* (F. of Chartres). 'A semi-liquid substance, composed of sulphur, pitch, dissolved nitre, and petroleum boiled together and mixed with certain less important and more obscure substances' (Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 46-8). Known to the Byzantine Greeks from the seventh century, it played a great part in Crusading warfare (cf. Oman, *op. cit.*: Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, c. xlivi).

29-30. *superiori solario*: the *solarium* or 'sun-room' was generally an upper chamber in a house. Here the word is used for the top storey of the siege-tower, which was higher than the town wall.

30. *Wilhelmus de Monte Pislerio*: cf. c. xi. *Guillelmus de Monte Pislerio (alias Pessulano) ipse fuit cum multis aliis in superiori solario* (R. the Monk, Lib. VIII, c. ii).

43-4. *Gulferius de Daturre* [*Golferius de Turribus* (R. of Agiles), *Gulferius de la Turre* (R. the Monk)]: Lord of the castle of Lasturs in the Limousin. His local name is given as *Dasturs*, *Lasturs* in the *Hist. belli sacri*. In the army of Raymond of Toulouse at Antioch, he took part in the Tell-mannas expedition (c. xxx). Legend gives him a 'faithful lion', which he saved from a snake. It followed him like a dog, and when, on his return home, the sailors refused to take it on board ship, it swam after its master and was drowned. (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxiii. 5, note 25; Le Prévost, *Ord. Vit.* iii. 580; von Sybel, *op. cit.*, 387; Vaissète, *Hist. du Languedoc*, ii.)

46. *supra murum*: the text here follows the editors of the

*Recueil* and Hagenmeyer in inserting from *B*, *C*, *E*, &c., the sentence: *illi autem, qui ascendebant, expediebant circa illos murum.* It may well be original, but the passage in Bongars' text is complete without it. It means 'they cleared the wall (from enemies) about them'. Tudebod has: *Golferius vero, quum fuit supra murum, cepit cum illis pugnare cum lancea occidendo.* (Cf. Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxiii. 5, note 26.)

56-7. *foderunt murum urbis*: R. of Agiles (R iii. 269, H) says that the Turks in the town threw at the Franks stones and darts, fire, logs of wood, beehives full of bees, and lime.

78. *vnum mensem et quatuor dies*: December 11, 1098 to January 13, 1099.

79. *Oriensis episcopus*: William, bishop of Orange. He was present at the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, was sent by the Pope on a crusading mission to Genoa and then joined the Provençal army. It was he who gathered the people together in the siege of Marra, and exhorted them to piety and perseverance.

#### CHAPTER XXXIIII. Page 78

17. *honestare*: Raymond of Toulouse ordered his knights at Antioch to put the palace and the tower over the Bridge Gate into a good state of defence. *Honestare* here means to equip, to prepare for war.

21. *Capharda*: *Kafartab*, *Kefrtab*, near Marra, on the road from Aleppo to Hamah, had been conquered by Yagi Sian and his allies in 1096. It is called *castrum* or *oppidum* by the chroniclers, and Raymond of Toulouse had already occupied and garrisoned it, in the plunder-raid which he made from Marra early in January 1099.

23. *Rex . . . Caesareae*: the emir Ibn Moncad (Kamāl ad-dīn, Ibn el-Athir). Caesarea on the Farfar, called *Larissa ad Orontem* in the old itineraries (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxiv. 5, note 22), is the *Sheyzar*, *Scheizar*, *Chezar* of the Arabs, 'the rocky fortress of Sheyzar, the ruins of which still overhang the Orontes'. (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 28 seq.) Osama (Ousāma, Usāma), the Arab writer, was its prince in the twelfth century (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousāma ibn Mounqidh*).

49. *Kephaliam*: the ancient Raphania, Rafinia (Kamāl ad-dīn), between Apamea and Tripolis; *oppidum extra Libanum montem situm* (F. of Chartres, R iii. 479).

54. *montaneam*: the Ansariya or Ansarieh Mountains, north of Lebanon.

*vallem de Sem*: Bongars' text has *de Lem* in this passage, *Desem* in c. xxxv. Hagenmeyer reads *Desem* in both cases, but fails to explain the form. The *Recueil* editors read *de Sem* and *Desem*. This probably represents the original reading.

for Tudebod (*codd. B, E*) has *vallem de Issem*. Bongars' *de Lem* is an obvious scribal error. It is possible that this name is connected with *Hisn el-Akrād*, the famous 'Kurds' Castle', known later as Crac des Chevaliers. This fortress lies at the end of the El Bukeia plain, which appears to be the *vallem* of the text, where it opens out to the sea (Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 246; Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxiv. 9, note 36). It is more probable, as has been suggested to me, that *de Sem* and *Desem* represent the Syriac *d' šēm* = Arabic *shēm*, Syria, Damascus. The *castrum*, in which 'a great multitude of heathen' had gathered, was perhaps an early castle on the site of Crac des Chevaliers.

68-9. *Camela ciuitate* [*Emesa, Emissa* (W. of Tyre), *Hims, Homs, La Chamelle* (Joinville)]: lies between Aleppo and Damascus.

69. *Rex . . . illius*: Jenah ed-daula, an ally of Kerboga, who had been present at the blockade of Antioch by the Turks. F. of Chartres calls this emir *Ginahadoles*.

71-2. *Rex . . . Tripolis*: the Kadi Abu Ali Ibn Amar (cf. Abulfeda) Jemal-almolk Abulhassan Ali ibn Amar (Ibn el-Athir). R. of Agiles attributes these embassies from the emirs to the taking of the *castrum*; *terruerat enim totam regionem illam castelli oppugnatio, quoniam nunquam antea ab aliquibus potuit expugnari* (R. iii. 275, B). The modern name for Tripolis is Tarābulus. It was a flourishing Mediterranean port, situated in a fertile plain and surrounded by the sea on three sides. In the wars between Fatimites and Seljuk Turks it had become almost independent.

78. *Archae* [*Arca, Arka*]: cf. F. of Chartres, (R. iii. 353); *castrum Archas ad radicem montis Libani situm, quod condidit Aracaeus* (*ut legitur Gen. x. 17*) *Chanaan filius, nepos Noe*. R. of Agiles describes it as *munitissimum et inexpugnabile viribus humanis*. It was north of Tripolis, about four leagues distant, according to R. of Agiles.

91-2. *Raimundus . . . de Tentoria: de Taurina*, p. 86; R. de Torena (Tud.), who guarded the fort *Machumaria*; R. de Taurina (*Hist. belli sacri*), who went with Raymond Piletus on the Tellmannas expedition. He was a southern Frenchman from Turenne in the Limousin, and a follower of the Count of Toulouse (cf. Le Prévost, *Ord. Vit.* iii. 588).

92-3. *Tortosam ciuitatem*: Tortosa, the ancient *Antaradus*, the modern *Tartus*, a small but strongly fortified seaport some forty miles north of Tripolis. While the Crusaders were besieging Arca, Tortosa was a victualling base to which ships from Europe could bring supplies.

104. *Maraclea*: the modern *Marakia*, on the sea, north of Tortosa.

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2-3. *Lichiam ciuitatem*: Laodicea, the modern Ladikieh. It had an excellent harbour and easy communications with Cyprus, and it lay in a fertile wine-growing district. At the time of the First Crusade it was the only place left to the Greeks. During the siege of Arca Genoese and Venetian ships brought supplies for the Franks to this port.

5. *Gibellum*: the ancient *Gabala*, now *Jebelli*, south of Laodicea, about half-way between Arca and Antioch. It was under the Kadi Abu Mohamed Obeid Allah (Abulfeda, *Ibn el-Athir*.). When the army was before Sheyzar Raymond of Toulouse had wanted to take Gibellum, but the opposition of the army in general, and of Tancred in particular, led him to abandon the scheme (von Sybel, *op. cit.*, 392).

14. *ultra flumen*: the Nahr Arka. Arca or Arka was on its northern bank.

16. *contra Tripolim*: Raymond of Agiles (R iii. 285, B) attributes the change in the submissive attitude of the emir of Tripolis and his refusal to pay tribute, to his knowledge of the quarrels among the Christian leaders.

20. *aqua . . . fluebat*: the *Nahr Kadisha* flows near the old town of Tripolis. R. of Agiles here mentions an aqueduct which brought water into the town.

29. *Naves . . . nostrae*: Greek, Venetian, Genoese, and English ships are known to have come to the help of the Crusaders. R. of Agiles has an interesting passage (c. xxxii) on the English ships, which had decreased in number by the spring of 1099 from thirty to nine or ten.

35. *Anselmus de Riboamont* [*de Ribodi Monte* (Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Franc.* c. xxxv, 3, note 24), *Riberi Monte*, *Ripamondi* (R. of Agiles), *Rilomundo* (*Hist. belli sacri*)]: Ribemont, near St. Quentin (Dép. Aisne). Anselm was Count of Ostrevant and Valenciennes, founder of the religious house of Ribemont, and a great benefactor of the abbey of Anchon. He had played his part at Nicaea and Antioch before he was killed at Arca. The two letters which he wrote from Antioch to Manasses, in French *Manassé* (English *Manasseh*, Vulgate *Manasses*), Archbishop of Rheims, have been preserved (cf. Hagenmeyer; Le Prévost; von Sybel; *Chans. d'Ant.* ii, p. 359; *Rec. Hist. des Crois.*, *Hist. occ.* iii, préf., p. lviii; Riant, *Invent.* 165, 178). About this time Pontius de Balanduno, the friend and fellow-author whom Raymond of Agiles bitterly deplores, was killed by a stone from a *petraria*. Before Arca also Peter Bartholomew went through the ordeal of fire, and died twelve days later.

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10. *Anmiralius Babyloniae*: the Emir el-Afdal (cf. cc. xvii, xxxix). He had (R iii. 277) won Jerusalem for the Fatimites by bribery, after Kerboga's defeat. R. of Agiles speaks of an embassy from the King of Babylon to the Franks at Arca, to which they replied, *Quod nisi gratis redderet nobis Ierusalem, Babyloniam calumniaremur ei.*

16. *Bethelon* [*Bethoron* (Tud.)]: the modern Batrûn.

17. *Zebari* [*Gibelon* (Tud.), *Gibellulum castrum* (F. of Chartres), *Gibilot* (Alb. of Aix), *Giobbeil* (Abulfeda)]: the ancient Byblus, the modern Jebeil (Jiblah), on the sea, south of Tripolis.

19. *Braym*: the Nahr Ibrahim, which falls into the sea to the south of Byblus.

20-1. *via nimis angusta*: the pass between Byblus and Berytus.

25. *Baruth*: Berytus, the modern Beirut.

26. *Sagitta*: Sidon, the modern Saida. 'The former metropolis of all the Phoenician towns, and one of the oldest towns of the world' (Hagenmeyer). It was now under Egyptian dominion.

27. *Sur*: Tyre. Tyre was also under the Egyptians. It was a very important commercial centre, and a famous port.

*Acram* [*Acco* (F. of Chartres)]: the ancient Ptolemais, the modern Akka, Acre. The siege of Acre was the central episode of the Third Crusade, and its conquest by the Mamlûks in 1291 marked the end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. R iii. of Agiles (R. 291) for the negotiations of the Crusaders with the emir of Acre).

28. *Cayphas*: the modern Haifa; a seaport, at the northern foot of Mt. Carmel.

29. *Caesaream*: *Caesarea Turris Stratonis*, to be distinguished from Caecarea Philippi and from Sheyzar (note, c. xxxiii. 23).

31. *Ramola* [*Ramore* (c. xxxix), *Rama*, *Ramleh*]: since the Saracens had evacuated the town the Franks occupied it.

33. *honorabilis ecclesia*: this church seems to have been outside Ramleh, and to have belonged to Lydda, St. George's birthplace, where, according to tradition, he was buried after his martyrdom at Nicomedia (cf. cc. ii, xxix). Ramleh and Lydda were close together, and might easily be confused. Another tradition places the martyrdom of St. George at Lydda.

36-7. *episcopum*: Albert of Aix gives his name, *Robertus*, and W. of Tyre says that he was a Norman from the diocese of Rouen.

## CHAPTER XXXVII. Page 86

3. *feria tertia*: Tuesday, June 7, but *octauo Idus Iunii* would be Monday, June 6. The right date is June 7. Cf. Tudebod (R iii, 102): *III. feria, vii<sup>o</sup> die intrante Junio* (cf. F. of Chartres, (R iii, 355); Hagenmeyer, *Chron. de la Prem. Crois.*, pp. 236-7).

4. *eamque mirabiliter obsedimus*: for the siege of Jerusalem, Raymond of Agiles, Albert of Aix, and William of Tyre should be read, in addition to the modern historians. Hagenmeyer's notes on the text are very full and useful, and his *Chronologie de la Première Croisade* is indispensable for the sequence of events. There are good illustrations and a plan of the city in E. Heyck, *Die Kreuzzüge und das heilige Land*.

5-6. *S. Stephani . . . ecclesiam*: this church lay to the north of the city. In 1099 it was in ruins.

10. *in monte Sion*: the Provençal army was at first on the west of the city. It afterwards took up a position on the hill of Sion on the south. The Church of St. Mary on Sion was on this hill (R. of Agiles, R iii. 293; F. of Chartres, R. iii. 358).

14. *Arabes*: by 'Arabs' Hagenmeyer here understands Bedouins.

20. *minorem . . . murum*: the comparatively low outer or second wall on the north of the city. The other three sides were defended by a single wall of great height and strength.

27. *nauium*: the Genoese ships at Joppa.

29-30. *Syloa . . . fons*: the 'pool of Siloam' was on the eastern slope of Mt. Sion.

35. *Iaphiae [Joppa, Jaffa]*: *nullum enim alium portum habebamus* (F. of Chartres, R iii. 383).

38. *Wilhelmus de Sabra*: Sabran (Dép. Gard). Tudebod (R iii. 50) mentions William as one of the knights who guarded the fort *Machumaria* at Antioch.

41. *ammirauisi*: el-Afdal.

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4. *machinamenta*: cf. Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxviii. 1, note 2.

31. *comes Eustachius*: the first passage in the *Gesta* in which Eustace of Boulogne is mentioned by name.

32. *Letholdus*: he came from Tournai (Albert of Aix). All the copyists of the *Gesta*, with R. of Caen, the *Hist. bell. sacri*, and Albert of Aix, make him the first to get over the wall, though the honour is not undisputed (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxviii. 4, note 18).

35-6. *templum Salomonis*: the modern el Aksa Mosque

on Mt. Moriah on the south of the city : *templum Salomonis magnum est et mirabile* (F. of Chartres).

37. *cauillas* : French *cheville*, ankle.

39. *castellum* : the wooden siege-tower.

50. *Turri David* [*Arx David* (F. of Chartres)] : the later citadel, on the west of the city. It formed part of the defences of the city wall, and was so strongly fortified that fifteen to twenty men could hold it against all attacks.

*portam* : the West, Joppa, or Bethlehem Gate.

60-1. *Gaston de Beert* : *Béarn* (Tud.), *Gastus de Bederz civitate* (Béziers) (Alb. of Aix).

65. *Sepulcrum* : this was the real goal of the pilgrim-soldiers. For descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cf. F. of Chartres and W. of Tyre, viii. 3. The caliph Hakim had destroyed the older church in A. D. 1000, but it was rebuilt in the first half of the eleventh century, and enlarged by the Crusaders (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxviii. 7, note 38).

1. *Margin* : *Godefridus, Rex Electus*. Probably due to a copyist (cf. c. xxxii). It occurs in Bongars' text.

10. *pyrae . . . sicut metae* : funeral pyres like hayricks or stacks, the corpses were heaped up so high.

13. *Scalonam* : the port of Ascalon, the Egyptian door of entry into the Holy Land.

15. *principem ciuitatis* : R. of Agiles (c. xl, R iii. 301) gives a simple straightforward account of Godfrey's election. Some of the clergy wanted a 'spiritual vicar' to be elected first, but the princes disregarded their wishes and proceeded to the election of a king. Raymond of Toulouse was approached : *hortabantur principes comitem Sancti Aegidii, ut acciperet regnum* ; but he refused, saying *nomen regium se perhorrescere in illa civitate*. Godfrey was then unanimously chosen : *elegerunt pariter ducem*. Other authorities mention Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders as candidates. Contemporary chroniclers generally call Godfrey *princeps, dux, or advocatus Sancti Sepulcri*, not, as is usual with later writers, *rex*. Fulcher of Chartres says that he would not be crowned king, and the *Hist. belli sacri* gives the well-known story of his refusal to wear a royal crown where Christ had worn a crown of thorns (cf. E. Barker, *The Crusades*, p. 24; Hagenmeyer, *G.F.* xxxix. 3, note 12).

16-17. *patriarcham* : the former patriarch, Simeon, had taken refuge in the island of Cyprus. He died in 1099. Arnulf had been chaplain to Robert of Normandy, and he was also in favour with Odo of Bayeux, who died in Sicily on the way

to the Holy Land. He and the bishop of Martorano were very unpopular with the Provençal party, chiefly because of their scepticism on the subject of the Holy Lance. He seems to have been gifted and eloquent, but to have made many enemies (cf. Dodu, *Royaume de Jérusalem*; Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*).

18. *die S. Petri ad Vincula*: August 1, 1099.

20. *Interea nuntius*: here Hagenmeyer collates with the other MSS., the fragment of the *Gesta Francorum*, *M*, which is added to the text of Raymond of Agiles in Bongars' edition (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 182) and in the *Recueil* edition (*Hist. occ.* iii. 305). (Hagenmeyer, *G.F.*, *Einleit.*, § 7, p. 96, *xxxix.* 5, *a*, p. 482.)

22. *Neopolitanam urbem*: the Shechem or Sichem of the Bible (*Flavia Neapolis, Nabulus, Nablûs*). Cf. Baudri of Dol (*cod. G*, *Recueil Hist. occ.* iv. 100 seq., 105, note 16) for this expedition to Nablûs.

42. *Marturanensis episcopus*: Arnulf of Martorano (*Matera* in Calabria). R. of Agiles makes him the leader of the party of the patriarch Arnulf and hostile to Provençal interests.

63. *flumen*: the Nahre Safiye.

91. *stantarum*: a standard. *Stantarum apud nos dicitur vexillum* (Tudebod, *R* iii. 116).

119-20. *saccum et peram*: cf. Matt. x. 10; Mark vi. 8; Luke ix. 3, x. 4, xxii. 35, 36. (Vulgate and Auth. Vers.) *sine sacculo et pera* (purse and scrip). For *pera*, the pilgrim's scrip or wallet, cf. Ducange, *Gloss.*, *Pera*; *Oxf. Dict.*, *Scrip.*

126. *Machumet . . . numina*: cf. c. xxi.

131. *Vech!* probably derived from Latin *vae*, Greek, οὐαί, German *Weh*, English *woe*. Cf. Latin *vah!* English *ah!* Cf. *vua*, *wa*, Greg. Turon. (*Gregory of Tours*); *Pat. Lat.* lxxi. 286; H. Omont and G. Collon, *Grégorie de Tours, Hist. des Francs*, Paris, 1913. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. R. Lane-Poole.

142. *Reuersi sunt nostri*: for the battle of Ascalon, cf. Oman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 288 seq., Plate IX.

151. *biscocto*: twice-cooked; biscuit.

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## CHRONOLOGY

1095

Nov. 18-28. Council of Clermont.

1096

March 1-8. Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit start for the East.

June. Defeat of Folkmar in Hungary.

July. Defeat of Gottschalk in Hungary. Fight between P. the Hermit's army and Bulgarians at Nish. Arrival of W. the Penniless at Constantinople.

Aug. 1. Arrival of P. the Hermit at Constantinople.

6-7. The army of P. the Hermit crosses the Bosphorus;

circ. 10-11, and encamps at Civitot.

Aug. Defeat of Emicho near Wieselburg in Hungary.

circ. 15. Godfrey of Bouillon starts for the East.

Sept. Bohemund and Tancred take the cross at the siege of Amalfi.

Sept. or Oct. Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Stephen of Blois start for the East.

Sept. 20-29. Rainald's Lombards and Germans occupy the fort of *Exerogorgo*. The Turks defeat them and besiege the fort.

Oct. P. the Hermit returns to Constantinople. Hugh the Great taken prisoner at Durazzo.

Oct. 7. The Turks take *Exerogorgo* and massacre Rainald's followers.

21. The Turks defeat W. the Penniless between Civitot and Nicaea, and besiege Civitot.

23-24. The Turks raise the siege of Civitot. Rescue of the surviving Crusaders by the Greeks.

Dec. 23. Arrival of G. of Bouillon at Constantinople.

25. Bohemund's army celebrates Christmas at Castoria.

1097

Feb. 18. Battle of the Vardar; defeat of the Greeks by Tancred.

circ. 20. G. of Bouillon crosses the Bosphorus.

April 1. Arrival of Bohemund's army at Ruskoï (*Rusa*).

5. R. of Normandy and S. of Blois embark at Bari.

26-27. The armies of Bohemund and Raymond of Toulouse arrive at Constantinople.

May 14. Siege of Nicaea.

16. The Crusaders defeat a relieving force of Turks.

June 17-18. Greek ships launched on Lake Ascanius.

19. Capitulation of Nicaea to the Greeks.

circ. 25. Embassy sent by the Crusaders to Egypt.

26. Bohemund's army leaves Nicaea.

July 1. Battle of Dorylaeum. Defeat of the Turks under Kilij Arslân.

Sept. circ. 10. Arrival of Bohemund's army at Heraclea.

circ. 14-21. Cilician expedition of Baldwin and Tancred.

Evacuation of Tarsus by the Turks. Quarrel of Baldwin and Tancred.

Sept.-Oct. Tancred takes Adana and Mopsuestia. March of Bohemund's army by Caesarea, Plastencia, Coxon, and Marash to Antioch.

Oct. *circ. 17*. Baldwin leaves the main army for the territory of Edessa.

20. Bohemund wins the Iron Bridge after a fight with the Turks.

21. Bohemund encamps east of Antioch.

20-22. Investment of Antioch by the Crusaders.

*circ. 24*. The Provençal Crusaders build a bridge of boats.

Nov. *circ. 17*. Genoese ships reach the Port of St. Simeon.

*circ. 18*. Expedition against the Turks of Harenc.

*circ. 23*. Building of fort *Mare-gart*.

Dec. 28. Plunder-raid of Bohemund and R. of Flanders.

29. Sortie of Turks in Antioch. Defeat of the Franks.

31. Bohemund and R. of Flanders defeat the Turks at El-Bara.

**1098**

Jan. Famine. P. the Hermit and W. the Carpenter try to escape, but are brought back by Tancred.

Feb. 9. *Shrove Tuesday*. Battle of the Lake of Antioch. Defeat of Ridwan of Aleppo and destruction of Harenc. Fight between the Crusaders in camp and the Turkish garrison of Antioch.

March 4. English ships reach the Port of St. Simeon.

5. Sortie of the Turks from Antioch.

5-6. Expedition of Bohemund and Raymond of Toulouse to the Port of St. Simeon. Fight with the Turks on their return journey. Great victory of the Crusaders over the Turks outside Antioch.

8-19. The Crusaders build the fort *Machumaria*.

April. Tancred undertakes to guard the west side of the city of Antioch.

May 29. Council of Crusading leaders. Decision to grant Antioch to Bohemund if he succeeds in taking the city.

June 2. Stephen of Blois withdraws to Alexandretta.

2-3. Firuz betrays Antioch to the Crusaders. Bohemund enters the city. Flight and death of Yagi Sian.

4. Death of Roger of Barneville in a sortie.

5-6. Arrival of the army of Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, before Antioch.

7-8. The Turks attack *Machumaria*. The Franks set fire to the fort and retire.

10. Fight between Turks and Crusaders on the south side of Antioch.

10-11. Flight of the 'rope-dancers' from Antioch.

11. Fight near the citadel of Antioch.

14-28. Famine in Antioch.

14. Invention of the Holy Lance

*circ. 15*. Hugo li Forcenez bravely defends a tower in Antioch.

*circ. 20*. S. of Blois meets the Emperor Alexius at Philomelium in Asia Minor, and prevents him from coming to the relief of Antioch.

27. Embassy of P. the Hermit and Herluin to Kerboga.

28. Great Battle of Antioch. Defeat of Kerboga. Surrender of the citadel of Antioch to the Crusaders.

July. Embassy of Hugh the

Great and Baldwin of Hainault to Alexius.

*circ. 14-17.* Raid of Raymond Piletus and capture of the fortress of Tell-mannas.

*Aug. 1.* Death of Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, at Antioch.

*26.* The Egyptian emir El Afdal takes Jerusalem from the Seljuk Turks.

*Sept.* R. of Toulouse takes Albara.

*Nov. 28.* R. of Toulouse and Rob. of Flanders besiege Marra. Bohemund joins them

*Dec. 11-12.* Capture and pillage of Marra by the Crusaders. Famine at Marra.

*29.* Bohemund returns to Antioch.

**1099**

*Jan.* Meeting of Crusading leaders at Rugia.

*13.* R. of Toulouse leads his followers out of Marra. He and Tancred arrive at Kafartab. R. of Normandy joins them.

*16-29.* The Crusaders, led by R. of Toulouse and R. of Normandy, march by Sheyzar, Cephalia, and the plain of Bukeia, to the castle (Crac), which they occupy.

*Feb. circ. 4.* Negotiations with the Emirs of Homs (*Camela*) and Tripoli.

*circ. 14.* The Crusaders reach Arca.

*circ. 16-17.* Raids against Tripoli and Tortosa. Raymond Piletus takes Tortosa.

*end of Feb.* G. of Bouillon, R. of Flanders and Bohemund go from Antioch to Laodicea.

*March 1-2.* G. of Bouillon and R. of Normandy besiege Jebelli (*Gibellum*). Bohemund returns to Antioch.

*12.* Godfrey and Robert go to the help of R. of Toulouse at Arca.

*April.* Envoys from the Emperor Alexius arrive at Arca.

*8.* Peter Bartholomew undergoes the ordeal of fire at Arca.

*circ. 18.* The Crusaders attack Tripoli.

*20.* Death of Peter Bartholomew.

*May 13.* The Crusaders raise the siege of Arca and go to Tripoli.

*May 16-June 7.* The Crusaders march to Jerusalem by Batrûn (*Bethelon*), Byblus (*Zebari*), Beyrouth, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Caesarea, Rama, and Emmaus.

*June 6-7.* Tancred advances as far as Bethlehem, but returns to Jerusalem.

*June 7-July 15.* Siege of Jerusalem by the Crusaders.

*June 13.* The Crusaders attack the city.

*18.* Communications established with the Genoese ships at Joppa.

*19.* The Egyptian fleet compels the Genoese at Joppa to abandon their ships.

*July 8.* Procession of Crusaders round Jerusalem.

*10-13.* Expedition of Tancred and Eustace of Boulogne to Nablûs.

*13-14.* General attack on the Holy City by the Crusaders.

*15.* Jerusalem taken by the Crusaders.

*16.* Massacre of the fugitives on the roof of the Temple.

*17.* Conference of the Crusading leaders.

*22.* Election of Godfrey of Bouillon as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.

*circ. 25.* Second expedition of Tancred to Nablûs.

*Aug. 1.* Election of Arnulf as Patriarch of Jerusalem.

*12.* Battle of Ascalon.

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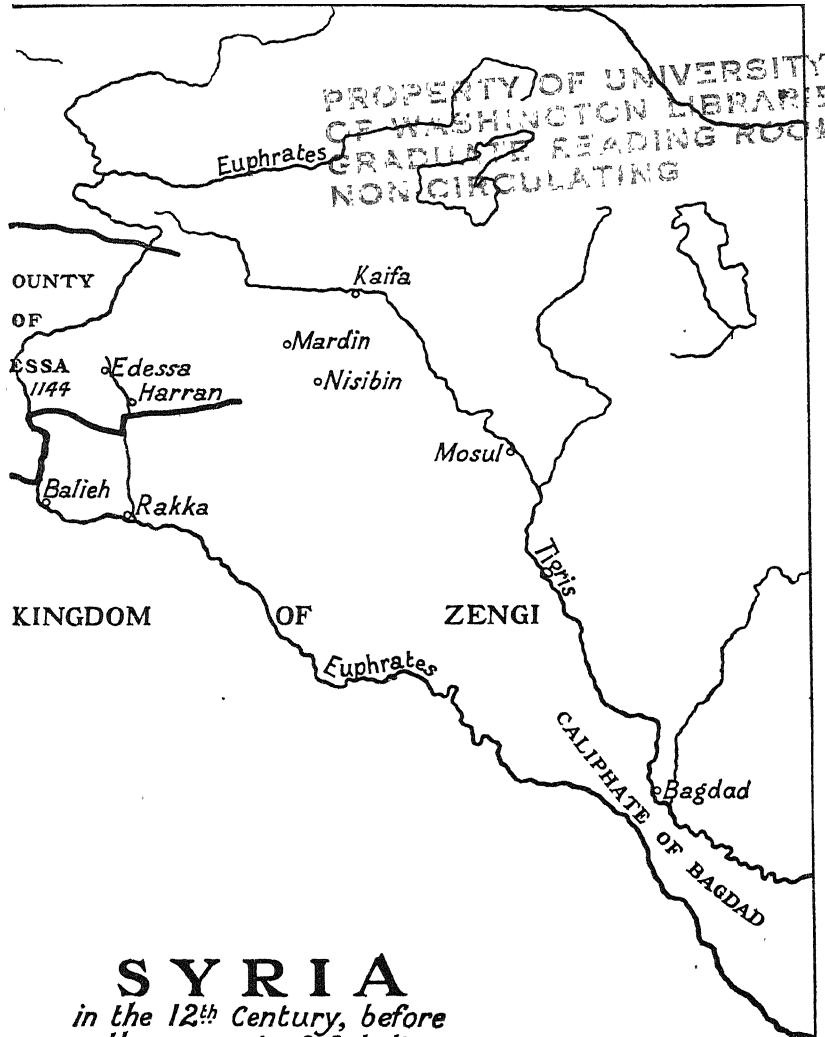
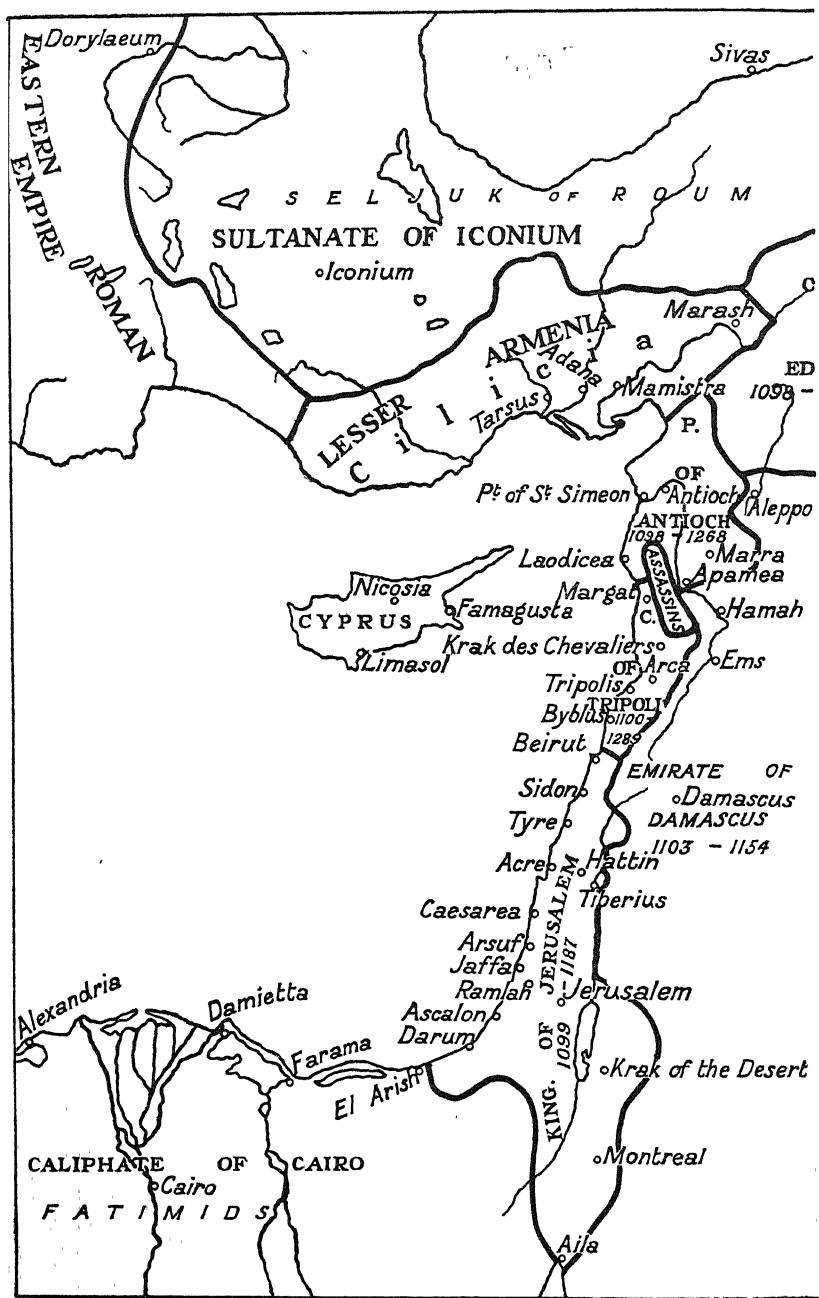
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